





Trans evropski forum: Umetnost i mediji u tranziciji Trans_European Picnic: The Art and Media of Accession

Izdavač / Publisher
Futura publikacije, Novi Sad

Edicija / Series **kuda.read**

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Uz odobrenje autora / Courtesy of the artists

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Priprema za štampu / Layout
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Štampa / Printed by
Daniel print, Novi Sad

Tiraž / Print run: **2000**

ISBN 86-7188-019-2

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Objavljeni tekstovi / First publication

Navedeni tekstovi su do sada već bili objavljeni u naznačenim publikacijama ili prezentovani na naznačenim događajima / The following texts first appeared in publications or have been presented in events indicated below.

Ivana Momčilović, **Demokratija za strance - opasnost po Evropu** (Kampovi za strance u Evropi, opasnost po demokratiju, Seminar u Evropskom parlamentu, 24 - 25. 06. 2003.) / **Democracy for Foreigners - Europe at Risk** (Foreigners camps in Europe – Democracy at risk, Seminar at the European Parliament, 24 - 25. 06. 2003)

Lučezar Boyadjiev, **Dosta sa razmenama! Umetnost, molim!, IFA-Stuttgart časopis**, februar 2004 / **No more exchange! Art, please!**, IFA-Stuttgart magazine, February 2004

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forum

Picnic

Trans evropski forum: Umetnost i mediji u tranziciji **29 APR / 30 APR / 1 MAJ 2004**

Novi Sad, Srbija i Crna Gora

Producenti: kuda.org, Novi Sad u saradnji sa V2_Institutom, Rotterdam

Prvog maja 2004. godine, Evropska unija će se proširiti van svoje sadašnje konstelacije "centra Evrope" i po prvi put uključiti zemlje bivšeg istočnog i nesvrstanog bloka. Za ovih deset zemalja, dan pristupa je mogućnost da se ponovo pridruže evropskoj sferi, od koje su mnogi osećali da su bili odsečeni zbog nametnutog članstva u savezima hladnog rata.

Prizivajući u sećanje Pan-evropski piknik održan 1989-te godine duž granice između Austrije i Mađarske, koji je pokrenuo događaje koji su doveli do pada Berlinskog zida, Trans evropski forum će obeležiti promenu u geo-političkoj strukturi Evrope nastalu kao njihov rezultat. Međutim, mnogima "otvaranje" do kojeg su doveli događaji 1989. godine, sada donosi plansko zatvaranje, restrikciju mobilnosti, oživljavanje viznih režima, koji označavaju nove prepreke i granice kao i nametanje novih pravila, birokratije i standarda.

Trodnevnim okupljanjem na temu elektronskih medija, umetnosti i kulture, u Novom Sadu, stotinak kilometara od nove transnacionalne granice Evropske unije, forum će okupiti umetnike, teoretičare, i praktičare medija iz cele Evrope sa ciljem da istraže promene u kulturnom i umetničkom pejzažu unutar i izvan ovog novog konglomerata kultura, ekonomija i identiteta koje se bore za prevlast. Trans evropski forum će omogućiti živu platformu za debatu i razmenu ideja u cilju stvaranja novog osećaja identiteta i novih oblika saradnje, koji će aktivno odgovoriti na rastući jaz koji razdvaja 'spoljnu' Evropu od 'unutrašnje'.

The Trans European Picnic: The Art and Media of Accession **29 APR / 30 APR / 1 MAY 2004**

Novi Sad, Serbia and Montenegro

Hosted by kuda.org, Novi Sad in collaboration with V2_Institute for the Unstable Media, Rotterdam

On May 1, 2004 the European Union will expand beyond its current "core Europe" constellation to include, for the first time, nations of the former Eastern and Non-Aligned Blocks. For these ten nations the 'day of accession' is the opportunity to rejoin a European sphere which, for many, was felt to have been robbed through the militarily enforced alliances of the Cold War.

By recalling the pan-European Picnic of 1989 along the Austrian-Hungarian border, which induced the events leading to the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the Trans-European Picnic will mark the resultant shift in Europe's geopolitical structure. For many however, the "opening" brought about by the events of 1989 are now to be met by "managed closure", restricted mobility, the revival of 'visa regimes' delineating new barriers and borders as well as the imposition of new top-down regulations, bureaucracies and standards.

Through a three-day electronic media arts and culture gathering at the city of Novi Sad, Serbia, a few kilometres beyond the European Union's new transnational edge, the Picnic will bring together artists, theoreticians and media practitioners from across Europe to explore the changing cultural and artistic landscape within and beyond this new conglomerate of competing cultures, economies and identities. The Trans-European Picnic will provide a lively platform of debate and exchange into the evolving sense of identity and new forms of collaboration active in countering the growing gap separating the Europe of the "Out-side" from the Europe of the "In-side".

Nova Evropa / Pax Europeana

100 kilometara od nove Evropske granice, umetnici i medijski aktivisti se okupljaju da kritički ispituju trenutni odnos Evrope unutra i Evrope spolja. Brisanje režima granica otvara potpuno nove perspektive, ali sa druge strane stvara i nove međuzavisnosti.

Referirajući na piknik koji se dogodio 1989. godine, Transevropski forum u Novom Sadu se organizuje blizu nove transnacionalne granice, kao odgovor na pitanje spontanosti proširenja Evropske unije. Kada je Otto von Habsburg 1989. godine, zajedno sa još nekim članovima Evropske Skupštine, organizovao spontani piknik na granici Austrije i Mađarske, simbolično je na trenutak otvorio vrata Zapada, da bi ih potom opet zatvorio. Piknik na Fruškoj Gori 2004, blizu nove transnacionalne granice, možda će proizvesti ovo otvaranje za ljude iza novih granica.

Za kulturu i umetnost je to šansa za razmenu ideja, za komunikaciju, umrežavanje i slobodan protok ljudi. To je šansa za ljude na unutrašnjim granicama EU, za one koji u bliskoj prošlosti nisu bili u mogućnosti da naprave taj pokret. Ali, za one pri spoljnim granicama Unije, slobodno kretanje još uvek nije stvar izbora... Zanimljivo je videti kako neoliberalna agenda slobodnog protoka ljudi, informacija, kapitala i roba zapravo funkcioniše. Danas, granica nije bitna za slobodnu razmenu informacija (pod uslovom da imate pristup telefonskoj liniji i električnom napajanju, no to je ipak problem infrastrukture); nije bitna za protok kapitala (finansijske transakcije se prostiru preko globalnih mreža). Granica više nije bitna čak ni za trgovinu robom, koja se kreće ka globalnom tržištu slobodne trgovine. Danas je granica dominantno biopolitička. I to je meta na koju se umetnici i aktivisti fokusiraju. Apsurdna je činjenica da, sa jedne strane postoji mogućnost slobodnog protoka neorganskih roba i vrednosti, a sa druge se ispostavlja da ljudsko kretanje predstavlja najopasniju društvenu praksu.

Umetnici i medijski aktivisti su bili najaktivniji tokom devedesetih, readeći da premoste jaz između Istoka i Zapada Evrope; festivali kao što su "Ostranenie" ili nettime skup "Beauty and the East" imali su za cilj približavanje umetnika sa obe strane. Sa bumom Interneta devedestih, umetnici i kulturni radnici su prepoznali potencijal ovih komunikacijskih alata. Za tu praksu je ključno bilo osnivanje mailing lista kao što su "Syndicate" ili "nettime".

U istočnoj Evropi, s jedne strane, postojale su institucije koje nisu bile u stanju da odgovore na nove društvene okolnosti, i koje takođe nisu imale sredstva za analizu savremene umetničke produkcije u to vreme. Dok je sa druge strane postojala Soros mreža Centara Savremene Umetnosti, koja je kao parainstitucija podržavala umetnike koji nisu bili u mogućnosti da pristupe, za njih tada, zatvorenim državnim institucijama kulture. Sa geopolitičkom promenom na početku milenijuma, Soroseva podrška kulturi se pomera ka Centralnoj Aziji i ostalim regionima van Evrope, stvarajući prazan prostor pre same implementacije evropskog kulturnog okvira i infrastrukture. Poseban i važan deo ovog okvira su regulacije i norme vezane za zaštitu intelektualne svojine i kopirajnt režima koji sprovode evropske zvanične institucije. Istočna Evropa je poznata kao mesto sa slabom regulacijom ovih pitanja posebno u kulturi, medijima i kompjuterskom softveru.

Slično kao i pre hiljadu godina, kada je hrišćanska Evropa preuzela nasleđe Rimske Imperije, postati član hrišćanskog Komonvelta, član civilizovanog sveta, je bila stvar simboličkog priznanja državnosti. Evropa opet postaje Carstvo, i priprema se za svoju ulogu na globalnom nivou. Čuvajući tradiciju Rima, zvanični jezik Evropske unije je Latinski. Latinsko jezgro u Novom Engleskom, koji je projektno orijentisan je analitički jezik birokratije u okviru *application form*, *project description*, *logical framework* i *task forces*. To je jezik normi i regulativa koji je služio sisteme više od 2000 godina, stvarajući administrativnu arhitekturu, društvenu kontrolu i efikasnu produkciju.

Da li je istočna Evropa nova/stara periferija u novoj/staroj Imperiji, kao što je uvek i bila? Da li će se istočna Evropa vratiti u situaciju kao pre 1918? Istorijske analogije mogu biti neplodne, ali mogu vratiti sećanja na stare istorijske traume. S druge strane, koliko je "civilizacijska" pretnja sa Orijenta akcelerator budućeg evropskog proširenja, pripremajući agendu za zajedničku bezbednost u Pax Europeani?

Snažan motor evropskog proširenja je sama činjenica da je to proces, sa inherentnim potencijalom, koji je ultimativni kapitalistički san beskrajnog horizonta - nešto što je Lyotard opisao kao "affinity to infinity". Do sada niko se nije zapitao kada će evropsko proširenje završiti, kada će proces biti zaustavljen, ko će biti poslednja zemlja/nacija koja će se priključiti Evropskoj uniji? Kada neko bude konačno odredio granicu Evrope, to će biti i njena prva kriza. Da li je na horizontu Orvelova Eurasia?

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New Europe / Pax Europeana

100 km from the new European border, artists and media practitioners are gathering to critically discuss the current state of Europe Inside and Europe Outside. The abolishing of border regimes opens completely new perspectives but on the other hand creates new interdependencies.

Referring to the picnic that happened in 1989, the Transeuropean Picnic in Novi Sad is organized near the new transnational border as a response to the notion of spontaneity of EU enlargement. The event of 1989, when Otto von Habsburg, together with some other European parliamentarians organized a spontaneous picnic on the border between Austria and Hungary, symbolically opened the door to the West for a while, and then closed it again. The Picnic on Fruska Gora Mountains in 2004, near the new transnational border, might trigger a new opening for the people **beyond** the new borders.

For Art & Culture this is a chance for the exchange of ideas, communication, networking and free movement of people. It is a chance for people on the internal peripheries of the EU, those who once upon a time were unable to travel. For those who are on the external borders of the EU, free movement is still not an option...It is interesting to see how the neoliberal agenda of free flows of people, information, capital and goods is actually working. Today the border is of no importance for the free exchange of information (unless you don't have access to electricity and a phone line, but this is a problem of the infrastructure), it is of no importance for flows of capital (financial transactions are spreading through global networks), the border is not important even for trade of commodities with the current move towards the global market of free trade. The border today is dominantly biopolitical. And this is the target where artists and activists are focusing their attention. Towards the absurd fact that we have all these free flows of non-organic commodities and values on the one side, and on the other, human movement appears the most dangerous social practice.

Artists and media activists were most active during the nineties, working to bridge the gap between East and West Europe; festivals such as Ostranenie or nettime's meeting the Beauty and the East aimed to bring closer artists from both sides. With the boom of the Internet in the nineties, artists and cultural workers recognized the potential of these communication tools. For that practice the establishing of mailing lists such as the Syndicate network and nettime was crucial.

In Eastern Europe, on the one hand, there were state institutions that weren't able to respond to new social circumstances, which also did not have tools to analyze the contemporary art production at that time, and on the other, there was the Soros network of Centers for Contemporary Arts as a parainstitution supporting artists who were not able to approach, for them, closed state institutions. With the geopolitical shift at the beginning of the millennium, Soros cultural support moved towards Central Asia and other regions outside of Europe, thus creating an empty space before the implementation of the European cultural framework and infrastructure. Special and important parts of this framework are regulations and norms regarding the protection of intellectual property rights and copyright regimes that European legal bodies are fostering. Eastern Europe was known as a space with weak regulations regarding these issues particularly in culture, media & software industry.

Similarly to a thousand years ago, when Christian Europe took over the heritage of the Roman Empire, becoming a member of the Christian Commonwealth, a member of the civilized world, was a matter of the symbolical acknowledgment of statehood. Europe is again becoming an Empire, thus preparing to act at the global level. Preserving the tradition of Rome, the official language of the European Union is Latin. The Latin core underneath New English, which is a project oriented, analytical language of bureaucracy inside application forms, project descriptions, logical frameworks and task forces. It is the language of the norms and regulations that had served systems for more than 2000 years to create administrative architecture, social control and efficient production.

Is Eastern Europe a new/old periphery in the new/old Empire, as it always was in the past? Will Eastern Europeans move into a situation like the one before 1918? Historical analogies might not be fruitful, but they could bring memories of old historical traumas. On the other hand, to what extent is the 'civilization' threat from the Orient the accelerator of further European enlargement, thus preparing an agenda of common security in PAX EUROPEANA?

The strong engine of European enlargement is the very fact that it is a process, with an inherent potentiality, which is the ultimate capitalist dream of an endless horizon, something that Lyotard described as 'affinity to infinity'. So far nobody has asked the question of when the European enlargement will end, when the process will be over, who will be the last state/nation that will join the EU? When someone finally determines the final borders of Europe, there will be its first crisis. Or is Orwell's Eurasia on the horizon?

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Paneuropean to Transeuropean

Stephen Kovats

on the occasion of the first Trans-European Picnic, April 30, 2004

“Tear it down and take it with you”

- slogan of the Pan-European Picnic, 1989

Enticed by a visit to Debrecen in Eastern Hungary in late 1988 by the president of the Paneuropean movement Otto von Habsburg, local (then opposition) politicians gave birth to the idea of organizing “a happy friendly meeting, a real picnic, on the spot of the iron curtain for all those who are participants in the camp of community of fate”. (1)

With the intention of holding a border opening “ceremony”, the organizers made it possible, in effect, for over 600 citizens of the German Democratic Republic vacationing nearby at Lake Balaton to break through into Austria at Sopron. The Pan-European Picnic on August 19, 1989, accelerated the East German exodus, which ultimately led to the collapse of the Berlin Wall and with it the state socialist systems across Eastern and Central Europe. The picnic organizers originally did not plan such a ‘break-through’ by the East German citizens, but rather a primarily symbolic festivity straddling the recently and only tentatively open Hungarian - Austrian border. This however in the context of the still lingering Cold War, and with the support of local government and border officials, as well as with the tacit support of the West German consular staff in Hungary, and of course by the Pan-European politicians led by Otto von Habsburg, former heir to the Austro-Hungarian crown who sits as a European parliamentarian in Strasbourg.

It was felt that the time for recovering the “stolen” Central-Eastern Europe was at hand. Following the logic that the idealistic euphoria such a moment carried - that once the curtain was slashed, the nations freed, that the harbor of the European Community would shortly be docked at. For the EC was no longer simply and strictly an economic club of Europe’s powerhouse economies - only a short time earlier had Greece (1981) and Portugal (1986), acceded. Austria, the “co-site” of the picnic to which the “break-through” occurred itself was not yet a member, but the clarity of mobility and self-determination that an ostensibly free and open Europe represented echoed beyond the boundaries of regulatory and economic political associations. Europe was still Europe, and the EU was still the EC, a community of European countries within Europe. After a decade and a half the events of that first Pan-European Picnic have come full circle. For the Picnic initiator, Hungary, the idealistic process begun in 1989 has been achieved. However, by becoming an association of the “majority”, the European (now) Union has irreversibly shifted beyond its political and economic mandate to become a near self-fulfilling prophecy caught in the shadow of its own idealism. Re-building these notions of open society called for the by the EU and meeting the true economic criteria of an increasingly inward looking group of individual nations concerned with their own problems has obviously been slower than the idealists imagined.

Past Czech president, former inmate and ardent picnicker, Vaclav Havel recently noted (on Euronews, no less) that the fears and expectations of those within the EU toward those joining the EU are partly blind and misguided. Nations, such as his Czech Republic that once had well developed economic, political and judicial systems, that, like a piece of fine furniture smashed into countless shards of wood, can only painstakingly and with great amounts of time and patience be restored to their original quality - if ever again.

The Paneuropean Movement, on whose banner the current EU flag is based, was founded in 1922 by a (fledgling republican) Austrian Count, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. Paneuropeanism aimed at a peaceful unification of Europe and avoiding a new and disastrous war, which was already threatening the continent. In 1923 Coudenhove-Kalergi published “Pan-Europe” in which he predicted that if Europe would not be capable of uniting into an economic, political and military union (Pan-Europe), it would be “threatened by rising nationalism, Germany turning towards an aggressive track, and an alliance between revanchist Germany and aggressive Soviet Russia. This would, inevitably lead into a new catastrophic war, which would end with a division of Europe into a totalitarian Eastern bloc ruled by Russia, and a Western protectorate dominated by the United States.” (2)

Otto von Habsburg, with no Imperial dynasty left to rule, joined the movement, and after the cataclysmic war prophesied by his mentor accelerated the work to construct a united Europe. Upon Coudenhove-Kalergi’s death in 1973 he went on to become the president of the International Paneuropean Union. “At the time, building a free and united Europe was possible only in the West. The European Communities and later European Union were largely created according to the initiatives presented by Paneuropeans” (3) who have pushed for European political federalism, a European Passport and for the abolition of border-controls. (4) One can argue that they are also ultimately responsible for the recent shift in jargon, even if not intentionally - that joining the EU means joining Europe itself.

An ‘open’ Europe’s outward expression of unity, dignity, mobility and equality were embodied in the notion of the ‘picnic’ as a grass-roots political act. Its simple and universal message about facing a remote freedom, unhindered, in this case across the void of an open field, under an open sky ... recalls the ‘fleeting appearance of the unicorn’, as Jean Genet once wrote, ‘that the solitary view across an open plain embodies.’ (5)

The word picnic itself seems to be traceable to 16th century France, in a text describing a group of diners who brought their own wine to the table. After the French Revolution in 1789 when royal parks became open to the public for the first time, “picnicking in the parks became a popular activity amongst the newly enfranchised citizens.” (6) Picnic, therefore, as a collective and social

form of empowerment, where friends, acquaintances and the merely likeminded gather to meet, discuss, eat, drink and engage in peaceful, perhaps intellectual or artistic activity, or, as in the case of the Pan-European picnic to protest and rebel, in a poignant, symbolically meaningful location. Out of doors, and in the open. In such a context, “a picnic functions also as a temporary occupation of significant public territory.” (7)

We, as media artists, cultural critics, telecommunications activists, see the Picnic on the eve and day of the largest and most politically symbolic enlargement of the European Union as a Trans-European event, affecting the structure and culture of both sides of the new pan-European divide. We, as Trans-Europeans, live and act within and beyond geophysical demarcations, our art is the art of electromagnetic space and our actions delineate communication as structure, dialogue and creative exchange. We occupy the territory of communication, our public space defined by the electromagnetic spectrum. Where these realms meet, the infrathin membrane between territory as figure-ground, and space as electronic media forms the site of our Trans-European Picnic. We reinstate this notion of the ‘picnic’ as a tool of symbolic empowerment, which fundamentally diverges from that of other qualified forms of debate such as the conference, summit or forum. We are not bound by an all-encompassing thematic umbrella, but are here to temporarily occupy real territory, with real borders, protocols and physicality. We, as Trans-Europeans, aim at linking art, culture and expression across all of Europe. Our purpose is to create a contemporary delineation of the symbolic space of Trans-Europe, beyond the utopian Pan-Europe now lost within the jargon of subsidiarity, accession standards and economic alignment.

“Die Stärke Europas liegt in seiner Vielfalt, Vielfalt in Einheit.”

“Europe’s strength lies in its diversity, diversity in unity.”

German ambassador Hasso Buchrucker in recalling the Pan-European Picnic in 1997 (8)

Besides marking the moment of accession and the subsequent shifting of borders the Trans-European Picnic will also examine Standards and Mobility as issues central to both the identity and desires of the EU. These represent critical intersections between the realities of accession and the borderless realms of art and media culture. Where diversity may be seen as a factor of mobility, unity is often subjugated as an excuse for misplaced standardization through attempts at homogeneity. Where standards and norms once played an intrinsic role in establishing qualitative niveaus meant to define common ‘pan-European’ ideals ranging from the abstract notions of freedom and democracy to the concrete use of common code, structures, jargon and imagery, a certain ‘mythos of the norm’ has emerged. ‘Counter norms’ now are taking their place in the countries of the ‘near-outside’, creating increasing moments of EURO-simulacra (an example being Serbian ‘*EURO-krem*’, that delightful and decidedly hybrid cocktail of outer-EU emulsifiers and sweeteners simulating a hard to define flavor of an EU-conform cake filling). The Trans-European Picnic, from its strategic vantage point of the ‘immediate beyond’ of the new transnational border on the Vojvodina plain, looks thus to define this space in-between, across the infra-EU ... the halfway in, halfway out. ... *We may not be able to join, but we can be just as EURO as U think you R!*

What then of the non-European Europe, the near outside, the Euro-Beyond? Are those nations not engaged in accession talks, such as Serbia/Montenegro, Moldova and Macedonia ever going to become European? Has there been a shift of identity between those IN and those OUT?

“In political questions the Paneuropean Union concentrated on re-enforcing the European Union, to enlarge it and deepen it. The next enlargement of the European Union, which is planned for 2004, is an important step towards the re-unification of Europe. The next important goal for us is the further steps towards enlargement with countries which today do not have any realistic plans to become members of the EU.” (9)

Today, a Paneuropean Picnic memorial, erected to embody the idea of a borderless, common Europe, sits on the site of that historic event. As it is with historical dates, their impact on history may only be judged in hindsight. Like that date, the fleeting, infrathin moment separating the 30th of April and the 1st of May 2004, will likely reveal such a space in time. The Trans-European Picnic, just beyond the shift of borders and perceptions, will mark this hinge in time and space - when the media were with us, and *they* know no borders...

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(2) <http://www.cc.jyu.fi/~aphamala/pe/2002/ovh-en.htm> by Anssi Kullberg 2002

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(5) Jean Genet, *The Thief’s Journal*, Paris, 1949

(6) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Picnic>

(7) ditto

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(9) <http://www.paneuropa.org/~se/bottomovrigt.htm#Paneurope>

Bežanje sa piknikom: poziv na priključenje

Nat Muller

Pre osam meseci, uz preskupu kafu na N5M4 festivalu¹ u Amsterdamu, u toku diskusije o nastupajući promenama u trenutnoj trans-evropskoj političkoj klimi i njenim posledicama po kulturu i umetnost, počela je da se razvija ideja o inicijativi koja bi se bavila uticajem proširenja Evropske unije na kulturnu praksu – posebno na medijsku umetnost. Kao i svi impulsivni projekti, Trans_evropski forum je nastao iz trenutnih preokupacija i pitanja kojima se bavimo kao praktičari kulture, sa obe strane EU. Dok se 2004-ta godina može pohvaliti mnogim događajima koji ispituju proširenje EU sa političkog, ekonomskog kao i gledišta civilnog društva, ili – takođe popularnog – nivoa vođenja kulturne politike, malo događaja se zaista fokusira na posledice koje proširenje EU može imati na umetničku produkciju na nivou prakse. Zaista, čini se da mnoge stvari koje nose pečat odobrenja EU, istovremeno nose i beleg administrativnog protokola, menadžerskog žargona i birokratskih zapetljancija: što je prirodna pretnja umetnicima koji žele da stvaraju dela, a ne da, budimo iskreni, budu menadžeri. Osećali smo potrebu da organizujemo događaj koji će biti drugačiji po formatu i opsegu od uobičajenih konferencija i simpozijuma: želeli smo da storimo platformu za razmenu koja bi bila horizontalna, otvorena, performativna, i koja bi pre svega dala moć delovanja onima koji oblikuju kulturu, to jest mešovitom timu umetnika, teoretičara, medijskih praktičara i aktivista. Sećajući se Pan-evropskog piknika, održanog 1989-te u Šopronu (Mađarska), koji je bio jedan od katalizatora daljeg ukidanja gvozdene zavese, razvili smo ideju o Trans_evropskom forumu (pikniku), koji bi ponudio komade informacija veličine zalogaja: ukusne, a ipak kritičke. Daleko od toga da bude samo polemički i intelektualni prostor, namera je da Piknik bude isto tako i društveno i privlačno okupljanje srodnih duša.

Ako je dijagnoza britanskog sociologa Entonija Gidinsa tačna, danas živimo u “Odbeglom svetu”, gde stvari “umesto da budu sve više pod našom kontrolom, čine se van kontrole ... (I gde) su neki od uticaja koji je trebalo da nam učine život sigurnijim i predvidljivijim, uključujući napredak nauke i tehnologije, često imali suprotan efekat.” (str. 2)². Zato se proširenje EU prvog maja savršeno uklapa u ovaj scenario: sa jedne strane, to je pokušaj otvaranja, prihvatanja različitosti – ako hoćete - država koje se priključuju. Ipak, sa druge strane, ovo prihvatanje nosi sa sobom disciplinu, regulisanje i kontrolu. Sa više pravila i politike EU koja će se negovati u dvorištima- baštama uvećane Tvrđave Evrope, stvara se privid jednog kontrolisanog – a ipak raznolikog – prostora. Drugim rečima, nepisana politika EU “Otvori se Sezame” glasi nešto slično ovom: “Da, pridružite nam se, ali samo ako postanete sličniji nama, i molimo vas nemojte preterano isticati svoju različitost, jer nas to zasta pomalo uzmemirava.” Da li je onda i pristupanje EU simptom ovog “Odbeglog Sveta” koji tako očajnički želimo da držimo pod kontrolom, jer nas može odvesti na mesta nestabilnosti i haosa? Da li prihvatanje različitosti, tačnije multi-kulturalizma neizbežno prati želja za homogenom i sigurnom, tj. ne-Drugom monokulturom?

Umesto da razmatramo erotske snove kulturnog tehnokrate ili tačnije eurokrate i izlistavamo brojne inicijative i dokumente koji promovišu kulturnu različitost, želela bih da podelim nekoliko preokupacija i opservacija o uticaju povećanja EU na kulturnu mobilnost i formiranje kulturnog identiteta. Pre svega, činjenica da smo kao organizatori Trans_evropskog foruma došli sa **Pan**-evropskog piknika na **Trans**-evropski piknik, govori sama po sebi. Moglo bi se reći, puka promena prefiksa, pa ipak to je u velikoj meri znak vremena i značajtelj kulturnog raspoloženja. Dok prefiks “pan” ukazuje na sveobuhvatnu i ujedinjavajuću celinu, “trans” označava pokret koji prelazi kroz odvojene entitete. U potonjem slučaju ne dobija se utisak ujedinjenja ili homogenosti, već pre povezivanja pukotina između fragmentarnih komada. Naravno, istorijski gledano, logično je da se 1989-te najavljuje “Pan-evropski” piknik u duhu ujedinjenja istoka i zapada. Ipak, stavljajući naglasak na prolazno stanje stvari, i uključujući prepreke koje sadrži svaki inter- ili trans-kulturni dijalog, Trans_evropski piknik (forum) predstavlja testiranje stvarnosti za praktičare (medijske) umetnosti unutar i van Evropske unije. Daleko od toga da širi jedan utopijski, ili suprotno tome, pesimistički pogled, forum (piknik) ima za cilj da pokaže kompleksnost i materijalne teškoće i/ili zadovoljstva kojima umetnički radnici preko granice moraju da se bave. Od Istambula do Budimpešte, od Praga do Roterdama, glavni cilj Trans_evropskog foruma je da pokaže da kulturno i geografsko mapiranje ne mora da se poklapa.

15 godina nakon pada Berlinskog zida, san o jakoj ekonomsko-političkoj – da ne govorimo kulturnoj – Evropi još uvek izgleda bolje na papiru nego u praksi. Evropska kulturna politika skrojena je više po meri birokrata nego umetnika, zbog čega je malim kolektivima ili nezavisnim umetničkim radnicima skoro nemoguće da učestvuju u programima EU. Sledi da, voljno ili ne, EU promovise dalju institucionalizaciju i birokratizaciju kulture, ostavljajući malo prostora za alternativne, inovativne i radikalne projekte. Moglo bi se reći da je sam po sebi ovaj postupak hitnog oživljavanja sada već arhaične tradicionalne evropske kulturne strukture. Kao što je Frederik Džejmson istakao u eseju “Evropa i njeni Drugi”:

“Novi evropski multikulturalizam je naravno, pozitivna strana novih evropskih rasizama... ambiciozne fantazije koje su procvetale odmah nakon završetka Zida, koje su promovisale pan-evropsku kulturu i pokušale da je ostvare, preko svih jezičkih barijera i pre svega istočno-zapadne ideološke barijere... odražavale su osećanje da je zapadno-evropska kultura svetlucavi ali mrtvi muzej, i da istočno iskustvo može da se ispostavi osvežavajućim i produktivnim” (str. 301-2).³

Dinamika moći koja je ovde na delu je očigledno jasna: kultura “dubokog zapada” još uvek je norma, mada sa injekcijom začinjene energije iz najbližeg istoka sa izgledom egzotizma, neo-orijentalizma ili balkanizma.

Naročito u poslednjih pet godina, videli smo poplavu izložbi koje izražavaju fasciniranost “bliskim Drugim”, to jest (bivšim) Istokom i Balkanom. Na primer: *Gorges of the Balkans* (Beč, 2003), *East of Art: Transformations in Eastern Europe* (Njujork, 2003), *After The Wall* (Stokholm, 1999). Uprkos visokom kvalitetu većine ovih izložbi, kuratorska perspektiva je još uvek vidno geografska po fokusu, i potvrđuje dihotomiju mi/oni, čime u najboljem slučaju omogućava inter-kulturni dijalog samo ograničene prirode,

a u najgorem slučaju ima izolativni efekat. Stoga je goruće kuratorsko i umetničko/kreativno pitanje kako da se izrazi spajanje estetike i razlike sa inovativnom vizijom, koja prevazilazi tradicionalne načine (re)prezentacije. Nadamo se da će u ovim okvirima Trans_evropski forum podstaći debatu, opisati nove kulturne parametre i možda postaviti plodnu matricu za dalji razvoj. Mesto sa kojeg polazimo nije sa periferije EU ka centru EU niti obratno – ako se stvari mogu do te mere pojednostaviti. Niti želimo da se beskrajno zadržavamo na dinamici uključenja i isključenja, koliko god da su relevantne i značajne. Ono što na neki način spaja učesnike foruma jeste prolazna priroda njihovog rada u smislu kako sadržaja tako i prakse. To je rad koji je bukvalno “u pokretu”, promenljiv u odnosu na kontekstualne promene, i stoga ne dozvoljava standardizaciju. Upravo tu promenu, koja se odigrava u pozadini “nove” Evrope, želimo da dovedemo u prvi plan.

U slučaju medijske i elektronske umetnosti, često mislimo da povezanost preko Interneta i komunikacijskih tehnologija čini sve granice zastarelim. Ipak, naše korišćenje tehnologije nije isto zato što nas je većina *online* u većoj ili manjoj meri, ili zato što nosimo mobilne telefone kao proteze za udove, i idemo na iste festivale novih medija. Upravo suprotno, korišćenje i preuzimanje tehnologije, rekla bih, krajnje je određeno i specifično mestu. Pored toga, višeznačna priroda tehnologija, bilo da se koriste za emitovanje, u komercijalne, umetničke ili druge svrhe, takođe treba da se uzme u obzir. Daleko od toga da su neutralna sredstva, mediji ili artefakti, tehnologije su u velikoj meri ispunjene mnoštvom političkih, ideoloških i društvenih scenarija. Shodno tome, one se javljaju kao fundamentalni označitelji i pokazatelji političkih i kulturnih promena. Bilo da se radi o performansu u kojem se koriste tehnologije streaming-a, DJ/VJ performansu, modifikacije igre, medijima koji emituju program u realnom vremenu, ili čak starom dobrom videu... sve su to kulturni izrazi koji idu daleko dalje od svog medijskog stanja.

Bez obzira na to da li imate brzu ili sporu Internet konekciju, da li je pristup tehnologiji široko rasprostranjen ili ne, želim da naglasim običnu činjenicu da su na kraju krajeva, fizička tela umetničkih radnika ta koja omogućavaju i pojačavaju inter- i trans-kulturnu saradnju. Drugim rečima, upravo je nametnuto fizičko i mentalno ograničavanje mobilnosti ono što ima za posledicu kreativnu stagnaciju, gubitak razmene znanja, ili još gore, pribegavanje turobnom svetu navike. Navika je, kako to Vilem Fluser elokventno kaže, “kao pamučno čebe. Pokriva sve oštre ivice i guši sve zvuke. Ona je neestetizirajuća (od *aisthethai* = percepcija), jer sprečava opažanje informacija, kao što su ivice i zvuci. Pošto navika sprečava opažanje, pošto anestezizuje, smatra se udobnom.” (str. 105)⁴

Ako naš Odbegli Svet iščaši naviku i primora nas da se promenimo i odbacimo plašt udobnosti – umesto da se sa njim borimo – onda je Trans_evropski forum poziv da se beži sa njim!

¹ Cfr. <http://www.n5m4.org/>

² Giddens, Anthony. *Runaway World: How Globalisation is Reshaping our Lives*. New York: Routledge, 2003. p.2 – 5.

³ Jameson, Frederic. “Europe and its Others”. *Unpacking Europe: Towards a Critical Reading*. eds. Salah Hasan and Iftikhar Dadi. Rotterdam: Nai Publishers, 2001. p.294-303.

⁴ Flusser, Vilém. “Exile and Creativity”. *Writings*. Trans. Erik Eisel. Ed. Andreas Ströhl. Minneapolis: Minneapolis UP, 2002.

p. 104 – 9.

Running with the Picnic: An Invitation to Join

Nat Muller

Eight months ago, over over-priced coffee at the N5M4 festival¹ in Amsterdam, while discussing the upcoming shifts in the current trans-European political climate, and its effects for culture and art, the idea for an initiative addressing the impact of the expansion of the EU on cultural praxis – and media art in particular - started to germinate. As all impulsive projects, the *Trans_European Picnic* was born out of the “spur of the moment” concerns, and real issues, we saw ourselves as cultural practitioners – on either side of the EU – dealing with. While 2004 boasts many events examining EU enlargement from a political, economic, civil society point of view, or – also popular - a cultural policy-making level, few events really focus on the consequences EU enlargement might have for artistic production, from the bottom-up. Indeed, it seems that much stuff bearing the EU-stamp of approval, is tainted by administrative protocol, managerial lingo, and bureaucratic convolutedness: a natural deterrent for artists who want to make work, and let's face it, not be managers. We felt the need to organise an event that was different in format and scope than the usual conference and symposium: we wanted to create a platform for exchange that was horizontal, open, performative, and that first and foremost granted agency to the shapers of culture, that is the motley crew of artists, theorists, media practitioners and activists. By commemorating the Pan-European Picnic, held in 1989 in Sopron (Hungary), which was one of the catalysts for the further dismantling of the Iron Curtain, we developed the idea of the Trans_European Picnic, offering bite-size chunks of information: tasty, yet critical. Far from being a polemic and intellectual space only, the Picnic is also intent to be a social and enticing gathering of kindred spirits.

If British sociologist Anthony Giddens' diagnosis is right, that nowadays we live in a “Runaway World”, where things “[r]ather than being more and more under our control, seem out of control...[and where] some of the influences that were supposed to make life more certain and predictable for us, including the progress of science and technology, often have quite the opposite effect.” (p.2)². Then the expansion of the EU on May 1st fits neatly into this scenario: on the one hand it is an attempt to open up, to embrace the difference– if you will – of the acceding states. Yet on the other hand, this embrace is one of discipline, regulation, and control. With more regulations and EU policies to cultivate in the backyards of an enlarged Fortress Europe, the semblance of a controlled – yet diverse – space is created. In other words, the unwritten EU “Open Sesame” policy line runs something like: “Yes, do join us, but only if you become more like us, and please do not flaunt your difference too blatantly, because we do find that a wee bit unsettling.” So is EU accession also a symptom of this “Runaway World” we so desperately want to keep in check, for it might take us to places of instability and chaos? Does an acceptance of difference, more specifically multi-culturalism, inevitably go hand in hand with the desire for a homogenous and safe – i.e. non-Other monoculture?

Instead of dwelling on a cultural technocrat's or rather eurocrat's wet dream, and list numerous initiatives and documents promoting cultural difference, I would like to share a few concerns and observations about the impact of the EU enlargement for cultural mobility and cultural identity formation. First of all it is telling that as organisers of the *Trans_European Picnic: The Art and Media of Accession*, we made a move from the **Pan**-European Picnic to the **Trans**_European Picnic. A mere change in prefixes, one could say, yet very much a sign of the times, and a marker of a cultural mood. While the prefix “pan-” indicates an encompassing and unifying whole, “trans-“ signifies a movement traversing separate entities. In the latter case one does not get a sense of unification or homogeneity, but rather of connecting the interstices between the fragmentary pieces. It is, of course, historically logical that in 1989 one would herald a “Pan-European” Picnic in the spirit of East/West unification. Yet, by putting an emphasis on the transitory state of affairs, and incorporating the obstacles involved in any kind of inter- and trans-cultural dialogue, the *Trans_European Picnic* figures as a reality-check for (media) art practitioners on the inside and the outside of the EU. Far from propagating a utopian, or conversely a pessimistic view, the Picnic aims to show the complexities, and material difficulties and/or delights art workers across borders have to deal with. From Istanbul to Budapest, from Prague to Rotterdam, the *Trans_European Picnic*'s main objective is to show that cultural and geographical mapping need not necessarily converge.

15 years after the fall of the Wall, the dream of a strong econo-political – let alone cultural - Europe still looks better on paper than in practice. European cultural policy is geared more towards bureaucrats than artists, making it almost impossible for small collectives or independent art workers to participate in EU programs. By corollary, voluntarily or involuntarily, the EU is promoting the further institutionalisation and bureaucratisation of culture, leaving little leeway for alternative, innovative and radical projects. One could say that in and by itself this move is an emergency procedure to resuscitate the – by now - archaic traditional European cultural structures. As Frederic Jameson has pointed out in his essay “Europe and its Others”:

[T]he new European multi-culturalism is of course the positive side of the new European racism...the ambitious fantasies which flourished immediately after the end of the Wall, which promoted a pan-European culture and attempted to realize it, across all language barriers and above all across the East-West ideological barrier...reflected the feeling that Western European culture was a glittering but dead museum, and that the Eastern experience could prove invigorating and productive.³ (p.301-2)

The power dynamics at play here are obviously clear: the culture of the “deep West” is still the norm, albeit with a spiced-up energy injection from the proximate East with a flair of exoticism, neo-orientalism, or balkanism.

Especially in the past 5 years we have seen a plethora of exhibitions and shows expressing a fascination with the “near Other”, that is the (former) East and the Balkans. For example: In the *Gorges of the Balkans* (Vienna 2003), *East of Art: Transformations in Eastern Europe* (New York, 2003) *After The Wall* (Stockholm, 1999). Despite the high quality of most of these shows, the

curatorial perspective is still overtly geographical in focus, and perpetuates the us/them dichotomy, thus only facilitating an inter-cultural dialogue of a limited kind in the best case, and an isolationist effect in the worst case. Hence, the curatorial and artistic/creative question how to articulate a merger of aesthetics and difference with an innovative vision, which transcends traditional ways of (re)presentation and production is an urgent one. It is within this realm we hope the *Trans_European Picnic* can spark debate, pinpoint new cultural parameters, and perhaps lay out a fertile matrix to build on. Our point of departure is neither from the EU periphery to the EU centre, or vice versa – if one can simplify matters to such an extent. Neither do we want to tarry endlessly over the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, however relevant and important they may be. What somehow binds the picnic's participants together is the transitory nature of their work in content, as well as in practice. It is literally “on the move”, mutable to contextual changes, hence defying standardisation. It is this flux, played out in the backdrop of a “new” Europe, we would like to bring to the fore.

Now, in the case of media and electronic art, we often think that Internet connectivity and communication technologies render all borders and boundaries obsolete. Yet, it is not because most of us are online to greater or lesser degree, wield our mobile phones as prosthetic limbs, and frequent the same new media festivals, that our usage of technology is the same. Quite the contrary, the cultural use and appropriation of technology is – I would argue – extremely situated and site specific. In addition, the ambiguous nature of technologies, whether used for commercial, broadcasting, artistic or other purposes, is also something to be taken into account. Far from being neutral tools, media, or artefacts, technologies are heavily imbued with a myriad of political, ideological and social scripts. Accordingly, they figure as fundamental markers and indicators of political and cultural shifts. Whether it is a connected performance using streaming technologies, a DJ/VJ performance, a game modification, real time broadcasting media, or even good old video...they are cultural expressions going far beyond their medial state only.

Regardless whether one's bandwidth is high or low, or whether technological access is prevalent or not, I want to stress the mundane fact that ultimately it is the mobility of the physical bodies of art workers, which enable and reinforce inter- and trans-cultural collaborations. In other words, it is the forced physical and mental curtailing of mobility, which effectuates a creative stagnation, a loss in knowledge exchange, or worse, a resort to the dreary world of habit. Habit is as Vilém Flusser eloquently puts it “like a cotton blanket. It covers up all the sharp edges, and it dampens all noises. It is unaesthetic (from *aisthēsthai* = perception), because it prevents bits of information from being perceived, as edges or noises. Because habit screens perceptions, because it anaesthetizes, it is considered comfortable.”(p.105)⁴

If our Runaway World” puts habit out of joint, and forces us to change and shed our cloak of comfort – instead of fighting it – then the *Trans_European Picnic* is an invitation to run with it!

¹ Cfr. <http://www.n5m4.org/>

² Giddens, Anthony. *Runaway World: How Globalisation is Reshaping our Lives*. New York: Routledge, 2003. p.2 – 5.

³ Jameson, Frederic. “Europe and its Others”. *Unpacking Europe: Towards a Critical Reading*. eds. Salah Hasan and Iftikhar Dadi. Rotterdam: Nai Publishers, 2001. p.294-303.

⁴ Flusser, Vilém. “Exile and Creativity”. *Writings*. Trans. Erik Eisel. Ed. Andreas Ströhl. Minneapolis: Minneapolis UP, 2002. p. 104 – 9.

Osmatranje sa margina

Intervju sa Brajanom Holmsom

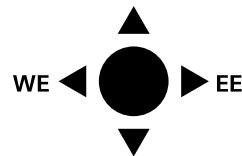
P: Po drugi put smo svedoci fenomena proširenja i ujedinjenja Evropske Unije. Sa jednog stanovišta, mnogi su skloni da izjednače termin 'imperija' sa SAD i njihovim nedavnim agresivnim spoljno-političkim strategijama. Ipak, evropska integracija uslovljena je strogim sprovođenjem zakona i pravila, koji imaju veliki uticaj na članove EU i buduće zemlje članice. Na osnovu pejzaža koji ova strategija stvara, da li bi rekao da Evropska Unija predstavlja nov oblik 'meke' imperije?

BH: Zapravo, kada su Negri i Hardt teoretisali o Imperiji, mislim da su u stvari govorili o Evropskoj uniji. Smatrali su da će kulturni legitimitet, formalni zakoni, i ustavne garancije koje su se činile tako istaknutim za vreme Klintona nastaviti da se razvijaju bez prekida kao model neke vrste globalnog konstitucionalizma. Ono što se umesto toga dogodilo jeste da se vratila stara nacionalističko-imperijalistička desnica Amerike, povezana sa naftnim kompanijama, glavnim industrijama i pre svega vojskom, i ponovo ustanovila jednu klasično imperijalističku paradigmu. Evropska unija to ne može da učini. U stvari, ono što se može pročitati o konstitucionalnoj dinamici u knjizi "Imperija" mnogo bolje opisuje način funkcionisanja EU, i pored potpunog neuspeha prvog pokušaja da se sastavi ustav. Ipak, opšti pojam imperije ima značenje koje se ne svodi samo na imperijalizam. Globalizacija se artikuliše oko tri osnovna regiona. Prvi su SAD, koje su čvrsto ustanovile NAFTA-u (Severno-američki sporazum o slobodnoj trgovini), i pokušavaju da ga prošire po celoj zapadnoj hemisferi u obliku FTAA (Slobodna trgovinska zona Amerike), koju verovatno neće uspeti da završe. Realno gledajući, imaju za cilj da se probiju kroz centralnu Ameriku do Kolumbije i Venecuele, što će stvoriti jedan jasno izražen proizvodni blok, nad kojim bi želeli da imaju manje više ujedinjenu kontrolu. Evropska unija je uspela da na to odgovori prilično brzo, promovišući jedinstvo svog kontinenta sa više socijal-demokratskom vrstom uprave. Ovdje je pitanje legitimiteta mnogo važnije nego za Amerikance, koji samo treba da preuzmu kontrolu, uključujući TV stanice i počnu da sprovode pravila. Postoji i treća oblast u svetu, jugo-istočna Azija, gde postoji početak institucionalne izgradnje pod nazivom ASEAN (Asocijacija južno-istočnih azijskih nacija). Nije jasno šta će se tamo dogoditi zbog uloge Japana, koji je glavni centar akumulacije kapitala u tom delu sveta. Čini se da Japanci ne mogu uspostaviti centralnu kontrolu organizacije, zbog onoga što su učinili u Drugom svetskom ratu, gole sile, zverstva. Tako da tu postoji veoma nesigurna situacija u kojoj Japan snabdeva kapitalom, Kinezi i ostale zemlje Asocijacije obavljaju posao, i niko zapravo ne zna kakva će biti budućnost. Imperija predstavlja kontrolisano neslaganje i rivalitet između ova tri veoma nesigurna načina na koji se ljudi navode da rade zajedno. Postoji globalno tržište, i Amerikanci očigledno imaju globalnu vojsku, ali ne postoji jedan globalni plan proizvodnje. Umesto toga, postoje tri oblika kontinentalne integracije u razvoju, od kojih svaki ima svoju periferiju. To je ključno – svaki ima svoju periferiju! I tu možemo konačno početi da govorimo o konstitucionalizmu Evropske unije.

EU se stalno predstavlja kao potpuno legitimna vrsta demokratske, integrativne tvorevine, zasnovana na pravima, kulturama, jezicima i razmenama. Želi da se predstavi kao neka vrste utopije; ali ona takođe ima svoju periferiju. U stvari, rekao bih da postoje dve periferije: unutrašnja periferija, pod plaštom jedne valute, i tog gigantskog bloka slobodne trgovine oko nje. Unutrašnja periferija je uglavnom bivši Istok, gde mnoge zemlje sada postaju članice EU. Siguran sam da ćemo videti transfer loše plaćenih poslova ka unutrašnjoj periferiji EU, i pojavu sve većeg broja mehanizama da se zadrži razlika između ljudi koji žive na periferiji i ljudi koji žive u centru, tj. Nemačkoj, Belgiji, Holandiji, Francuskoj, Italiji i Španiji. Naravno, Engleska je neka vrsta stožera za sve to, to je sila koja pokušava da povuče celu evropsku građevinu u američki blok, dok Nemačka i Francuska stalno pružaju otpor engleskoj strategiji, što se jasno videlo tokom poslednjeg iračkog rata. To je, po meni, pozadina stvari. O svemu tome moramo da pričamo pre nego što počnemo da govorimo o bilo čemu specifičnom. A onda dolazimo do pitanja: "Kakav je život u tim dvema evropskim periferijama?"

P: Život na periferijama se već promenio. Deset bivših socijalističkih zemalja iz centralne i istočne Evrope se priključuje EU 1. maja. Postavlja se pitanje kako će ta periferija, te istočne zemlje da se ukllope? Uzimajući u obzir očigledne kulturne razlike, kako će te zemlje usvojiti zapadne standarde? Ta promena paradigme vođene nasleđem socijalizma – da li će se dogoditi ili će ostati baš kao i do sada?

BH: Mislim da je to ogroman istorijski proces. On će se nastaviti, moguće generacijama. U početku stvaranja EU bilo je mnogo pokušaja da se ono što se dešavalo u zemljama članicama teritorijalno uskladi. Postoje takozvani strukturni fondovi, koji su dati Grčkoj, Portugalu, Španiji i Irskoj. Te zemlje su bile veliki pobednici u prvom proširenju EU, tokom 70-tih i naročito 80-tih godina. Naravno, to je stvorilo velike nade za sve nove članice EU ali ono što se sada vidi je malo drugačije. Nema ni blizu onoliko strukturnih fondova da se postigne takvo ujednačavanje i uvođenje zajedničkog standarda proizvodnje i potrošnje koje je omogućilo Špancima i Portugalcima da dostignu isti nivo kao i njihovi prvi susedi, Francuzi. Mislim da to neće moći da postignu sa novim članicama, jer EU je od političkog projekta postala blok slobodne trgovine. Unutrašnja periferija se ne pridružuje EU o kojoj je sanjala 70-tih i 80-tih. To nije književna priča u stilu Vaclava Havela, gde se grade pozorišta i svako dobija fer probu. To je proizvodna mašina, gde se na kraju krajeva takmičite sa SAD i kombinacijom Japana i Kine. Ako pogledate spoljašnju periferiju, stvari postaju još gore. Kakav je interes ovog prostora van granice? Sa kapitalističkog gledišta, interes je da možete da iskoristite slabe zakone o radu, možete da iskoristite sve moguće zone gde nema prava, čak ni relativno slabih prava kakve ćete imati unutar EU. U unutrašnjoj periferiji, ta prava će manje više morati da se poštuju. Ali van nje, može se stvarno desiti 'pljačkaški' kapitalizam. I šta ga može zaustaviti? Istorijski projekat alternative kapitalizmu stvorio je kulturne forme koje se sada odbacuju zbog, kako su ga nazvali? - 'demokratskog centralizma'. U osnovi, birokratija sovjetskog tipa bila je nepodnošljiva, neizdržljiva, i sve te kulturne i organizacijske forme su odbačene. Sada će zemlje na spoljnoj periferiji biti izložene jednom veoma divljem obliku pljačkaškog kapitalizma. Tako da ako razmišljate o tome šta ćete raditi tokom nekoliko sledećih godina, imajte na umu da će svugde postojati potreba za ponovnim stvaranjem kultura otpora.



Ova potreba za kulturama otpora je interesantna svima nama, a istovremeno i veoma obeshrabrujuća za sve nas, i veoma teška kao izazov. Jer, svako se suočava sa sličnom mešavinom situacija. Isto se može videti na granicama američkog bloka. Ako živite u Latinskoj Americi, možete koristiti neka sredstva koji dolaze iz centra, ali uslovi pod kojima živite su mnogo dramatičniji i divlji. Ljudi se suočavaju sa opasnošću nemanja prihoda, nemanja države koja funkcioniše i razvija bilo kakve programe socijalne pomoći; a u smislu kulture, postoji opasnost nemanja mesta zaštićenih od tržišta. Ali, to isto tako znači da su ljudi prinuđeni da rizikuju, da izmisle nove strukture, da razviju nove solidarnosti. Pitanje stoga postaje: mogu li ljudi koji se suprotstavljaju kapitalističkim procesima u centralnim oblastima pronaći načine saradnje sa ljudima sa periferija, uz priznavanje razlika, a ne putem samouverenog izvoza početaka kakvog god rešenja ili ideologije koje pronalaze u oblasti u kojima uslovi uopšte nisu isti? Mislim da bi to bilo pitanje koje treba postaviti, pitanje solidarnosti.

P: Spomenulo si prvo proširenje EU, koje je investiralo mnogo više instrukcione reanimacije u institucije, u smislu usvajanja određenih zapadnih standarda. Čini se da se strategija proširenja EU sada promenila. Čini se da se sve zasniva na moći, a ne na finansijskim investicijama i strukturnim fondovima. To se približava onome što zapravo postoji u zapadnim zemljama. Da li bi to moglo da znači da prolazimo kroz proces struktuiranja otvorenog tržišta i lociranja novih resursa radne snage?

BH: U ovom trenutku, globalizacija je svugde kapitalistički projekat, koji se istovremeno razvija na regionalnom i svetskom nivou. Ali ovaj projekat se uvek izražava kroz lokalne sisteme uprave i kulture. U situaciji spoljašnje periferije Evrope, kao što je to u Srbiji, verovatno ćete videti snažnu manipulaciju od strane ljudi koji žele da stvore lokalni sistem moći, koji će se razviti paralelno sa pljačkaškim osvajanjem tržišta. Tržišta su veoma važna zemljama centra, mnogo više nego radna snaga koju sve više mogu da zamene roboti. Ako želite da nešto postignete u svetu, izmislite robot-konzumenta! U slučaju Srbije, biće mnogo manje osvajanja neke vrste radne snage. To se desilo u većoj meri u drugim zemljama periferije, kao što su Mađarska ili Češka, gde se koristi ono što se smatra sofisticiranom a ipak vrlo jeftinom radnom snagom, nešto nalik na ono čime se Irska radna snaga smatrala 70-tih i 80-tih. Poljska je treći slučaj, koji će biti sve važniji. Pitanje za njih jeste da li će uspeti da razviju svoje obrazovne sisteme kao što je to učinila Irska? Da li će se izbiti u pozicije neregulisane zone jeftine radne snage ispod cene? Plašim se da u zemljama kao što je Srbija to čak nije ni pitanje. Radi se pre o otkupu određenih vrsta resursa, na primer, turističke infrastrukture, koju sada većinom poseduju zapadni interesi; dakle radi se o invazivnom preuzimanju tržišta. Ali, neće biti nikakvog naročitog investiranja u politički i kulturni sistem spoljašnjih periferija. EU želi da te zemlje ostanu relativno stabilne, bez previše građanskih ratova - ali će prihvatiti bilo šta što funkcioniše. Ono što ćemo verovatno videti, u odsustvu bilo kakvog dubljeg građenja institucija, jeste pokušaj lokalnih političkih klasa da stvore neku vrstu nacionalnog identiteta, folkloričkog identiteta, gde se održavaju kulturne razlike. A te razlike se zadržavaju da bi se ljudima pružio način da se objasni ogromna razlika između njihove situacije i situacije ljudi koje žive sa druge strane granice, kao što su mogućnost kretanja, posredovanje posla i obrazovanja, gde su razlike dramatične. Dakle, ako vam objasne da je vaš identitet drastično različit, onda bi to bilo prilično korisno za političku klasu koja želi da pronade način da postavi trajnu strukturu vlasti. Nažalost, sve ovo što sam opisao je isto tako savršen recept za među-etničke ratove, i ako pogledate oko sebe, videćete da ti ratovi postaju način "rada" imperijalnog geopolitičkog upravljanja.

A šta je sa ljudima koji žele da eksperimentišu u medijima? I šta ako to nisu samo eksperimenti kreativnosti i izražajnosti, već i konektivnosti, organizacije, procesa onoga što bih nazvao mikro-representacije, gde se nalazi način da se male grupe umrežavaju? To je sve veoma savremen eksperiment iz demokratije. Istovremeno je i obrazovni proces kojim sami upravljate. On isto tako obučava sofisticiranu radnu snagu. I čak otvara tržišta za potrošačku elektroniku, za medijske proizvode, za životne stilove i slično. Dakle, male, nezavisne inicijative su u centru svih kontradikcija! Zbog tih razloga, za vas će biti zainteresovana evropska civilna društva i EU sponzori kulture, dodajte tome i mnogo ambivalentniji tretman od strane lokalne političke klase, za koju ste istovremeno neka vrsta obećanja i neka vrsta pretnje. Lako rešenje, naravno, jeste da budete momci i devojke sa postera za modernizaciju kulture koja se dešava samo u snovima nekoliko birokrata. Ili da budete kritičari tehnološke klase svog grada, koja poseduje između lokalnih brokera moći i EU firmi. Ali, nijedno od ovih rešenja nije dovoljno kada morate da živite pod stalnom senkom fašizma, građanskog rata, internacionalne intervencije, i čitave predstave nesreća koje prate kapitalističku globalizaciju. Stoga pretpostavljam da je pitanje o onome što se ranije nazivalo 'izgradnjom institucija' nekako postaje ponovo aktuelno, ali na drugačiji način.

P: Te male, nezavisne inicijative koje si spomenulo ne moraju da ostanu male i ograničenog uticaja. Kada govorimo o medijima i novim komunikacionim tehnologijama, uvek se postavlja pitanje infrastrukture. To je veoma interesantno, naročito u istočnom delu Evrope. Pa ipak, nedovoljno razvijena infrastruktura je isto tako i odlična mogućnost za razgradnju monopola glavnih medija. Kakva je budućnost i kakve su mogućnosti za nezavisne medijske inicijative u Evropi i van nje?

BH: Pitanje odnosa između alternativnih i glavnih medija je stalno prisutno i o njemu se ne govori dovoljno. Ako želite da proširite eksperimentalnu praksu koja vas zanima, na kraju dolazite do tačke gde je to pitanje uvećavanja. To znači povećavanje broja ljudi koji sa vama saraduju i isto tako vašu infrastrukturu – prostora, osnovne opreme, i mogućnosti da ljudi rade na stalnim projektima. A tada morate da se suočite sa stvarnom situacijom u društvu. Mnogi su postali toga svesni kada se Soros izvukao iz zemalja kao što su bivša Jugoslavija. Postojala je mogućnost za razvoj u nekoj vrsti društvenog vakuma, jer su ljudi dolazili iz SAD ili severne Evrope sa svim tim idealima legitimeteta i potrebom za direktnim demokratskim izražavanjem i pristupom medijima i tako dalje, i oni su dali neku vrstu početnog impulsa mnogim inicijativama. Nije bilo mnogo drugačije ni u zemljama centra. Videli smo ogroman porast tih 'demokratskih eksperimenata', eksperimenata reprezentacije i komunikacije, koji je u početku bio nošen naglim razvojem berze. Oni su se razvili duž puteva rizomske singularizacije, na način koji je Gatar (Guattari) predvideo iznenađujuće tačno krajem 80-tih i početkom 90-tih godina. Ali, koliko mogu da nastavite pre nego što se sudare sa zidom kapitalističke kulture, koju u osnovi definišu glavni mediji? Kako možemo da se odbranimo od integracije ovih novih izražajnih i komunikacijskih mogućnosti u sistem fleksibilne proizvodnje, potrošnje i upravljanja koji su i dalje pod čizmom onih koji kontrolišu glavne medije? Mislim da

je to pitanje nerešeno u celom svetu. Nije bilo mnogo prodiranja u medije, jer ljudi to ne žele. I u pravu su! Ali nam zaista treba infrastruktura i mnogo više malih institucija, koje bi mogle da organizuju događaje kao što su festivali, ali sa dovoljno autonomije da bi zapravo mogli da proizvedu pristup ne samo sredstvima, već i čitavoj kulturi samo-organizacije i kooperativnosti. Do sada, ono što imamo jeste neka vrsta lebdeće situacije sa privremenim okupljanjima i ogromnom količinom volenterskog rada, što je veoma dobro. Ali, možda treba da iznađemo način da proširimo volenterski aspekt, istovremeno stvarajući određene vrste infrastrukture ili institucija koje se ne birokratizuju niti komercijalizuju i koje ne zaustavljaju onu vrstu inovacije koja stvara želju na kojoj se sve zasniva. To bi bio pravi razvoj moći pojedinačnog segmenta, u njegovom razilasku sa svim konstituisanim moćima. Mislim da je to interesantna perspektiva. Ono što je Hert Lovink (Geert Lovink) rekao na Neuro festivalu bilo je tačno: "Stvari počinju sa događajem". Događaj sredinom i krajem 90-tih bio je to da umreženi mediji postaju pristupačni. Zatim su usledili politički događaji: anti-globalistički pokret. A zatim i institucionalni događaji: stvaranje svih tih malih medijskih centara. Mi sada živimo od tih događaja i pitanje je kako da počnemo da stvaramo nešto što transformiše veliko iznenađenje u neku vrstu mogućnosti mnogih manjih iznenađenja – a da pritom ne izgubimo mogućnost još jednog velikog iznenađenja?

P: Sada dolazimo do pitanja solidarnosti, koje je prisutno u svakoj vrsti procesa saradnje, umrežavanja i zajedničkog rada. Možeš li nešto više reći o paraleli koju si povukao između pokreta nesvrstanih iz 60-tih godina i sadašnje situacije, jer smo svedoci rasta nezavisnih društvenih i medijskih pokreta po celom svetu?

BH: Mislim da je to nešto za čim bismo svi mogli tragati. U tekstu pod naslovom "Imaginarnе mape, globalne solidarnosti", pisao sam o pokretu nesvrstanih, koji je izgrađen 60-tih, naročito oko Indije, Kube i bivše Jugoslavije, i koji je takođe bio važna referentna tačka za pokrete političkog otpora i kontra-kulture razvijenih zemalja. Prizivajući to, želeo sam samo da dam neku vrstu istorijske analogije neispunjenoj mogućnosti današnjice. Mislim da danas nista slično ne postoji, ali isto tako mislim da će nešto slično postati ili je već neophodno. Sa pojavom tešnje saradnje između Indije, Južne Afrike i Brazila, postoji neka vrsta direktnog eha pokreta nesvrstanih. Ali nisam siguran da je to dovoljno. Mislim da se još nije desio pronalazak u tom smislu. I nisam siguran da se zaista desio pronalazak ni sa "pokretom društvenog foruma", jer ima mnogo nostalgije za pokretom nesvrstanih i za modernističkim centralnim planiranjem. Oni koji gaje tu nostalgiju su po pravilu oni koji su bolje organizovani, jer se još uvek nalaze u organizacijama koje su proizašle iz tog perioda. Ali, problem je u tome što se ne suočavaju sa neuspesima projekata modernizacije. To je određeno ograničenje broja ljudi koji se mogu integrisati u te projekte, ostavljajući za sobom masivnu realnost onih koji su isključeni. To se veoma jasno vidi u zemljama kao što je Argentina. To je bilo društvo u procesu modernizacije, industrijski sistem sa društvenim garancijama evropskog stila, uključujući zdravstvenu negu, javno obrazovanje, penzijske beneficije, itd. Dogodilo se to da je kapitalistički projekat o kojem smo pričali ranije uništio taj pokušaj modernizacije u procesu koji počinje diktaturom u Argentinini tokom 1976-83 sve do Menem perioda 90-tih, kada su javne usluge bile većinom prodate po planu MMF-a, ali tako da je direktno profiterala lokalna politička klasa. Ta politička klasa se strašno obogatila, zajedno sa lokalnom poslovnom klasom. Istovremeno, bukvalno polovina stanovništva izgubila je mogućnost da preživi. Dakle, pitanje je kakav politički pronalazak će se pojaviti da uzme u obzir ovu katastrofu koja se odvija u svetu? To je zaista katastrofa, i stoga se pojavljuju različite vrste političkih konstrukcija - vidite ih na horizontu. To je najjasnije u Latinskoj Americi. Ali, tradicionalni levičarski put, onaj koji sa mnogo nade predstavlja Lula u Brazilu, je verovatno previše čvrsto povezan sa stagnirajućim institucijama industrijskog doba i sa sistemom moći koji ih je postavio, a zatim delimično razorio. Ono što sada treba otkriti jesu politički i organizacioni oblici koji ljudima pružaju prostor i resurse da vode brigu o sebi, ne zaboravljajući pritom niti poričući svoju zavisnost od svih ostalih.

Dakle, ono o čemu govorim nije da se treba odmah pridružiti socijalnim forumima, niti brazilsko-južnoafričkom-indijskom trouglu, mada su te stvari vredne interesovanja. Ne želim da poredim ogromnu količinu napora koji se ulaže u njihovo stvaranje, ali biće potreban korak dalje, koji će se dogoditi samo ako postavite pitanje o tome ko je zaista uključen. Sa tog stanovišta, ako imaš kompjuter i video kameru, uključen/a si, deo si moderne ekonomije. Ali mi govorimo o milionima, čak bilionima ljudi koji sve više nemaju dovoljno hrane. To je krajnje neodložno i čini mi se da će se levičarstvo našeg vremena udružiti samo onda kada neka mreža društvenih grupa izume načine da se na to odgovori na kontinentalnom i globalnom nivou. U toj perspektivi, stvaranje transnacionalnih mreža je veoma važno, i pitanje solidarnosti je kakvu vrstu aktivne uloge mogu imati ljudi poput nas, ljudi koji su uključeni, ali na marginalan način. Mnogi ljudi koji žive u zapadno-evropskim zemljama su uključeni na marginalan način, uključeni smo na takozvani 'nesiguran' ili 'negarantovan' način. I interesantno je da su mnogi ljudi zapravo izabrali tu poziciju. To je kao da su rekli: "Neću da budem uključen/a u glavni projekat ovog pljačkaškog kapitalizma, radije ću da budem na ivicama, u marginalnoj poziciji." Iz te pozicije, sa ivica tog suludog rivalstva između blokova proizvodnje u kojima smo ranije govorili, možda je moguće gledati i slušati dovoljno da bi se saznalo kakva vrsta političkog izuma će se zapravo dogoditi. Iz tog razloga sam počeo da putujem po svetu, i može se videti da nešto započinje. Možete učestvovati u tome. Ali koliko mi se čini, niko još tačno ne zna šta je to.

Brajan Holms (Brian Holmes) je teoretičar kulture i kritičar umetnosti. Član je francuske aktivističke asocijacije "Ne pas plier". Od protesta protiv kapitala u Londonu, 18. juna 1999. godine, učestvovao je i pisao o nekoliko najvećih demonstracija protiv globalnog kapitalizma.

Looking Out from the Margins

interview with **Brian Holmes**

Q: For the second time we are witnessing the phenomenon of enlargement and unification of the European Union. From one point of view, many people tend to equate the term 'empire' with the USA and its recent aggressive foreign policy strategies. Yet, European integration is conditioned by a strong enforcement of laws and legitimate rules, which have big influences on EU members or future member countries. According to the landscape this strategy is creating, would you say that the European Union presents a new form of 'soft' empire?

BH: Actually, when Negri and Hardt theorized Empire, I think what they were really talking about was the European Union! They thought that the cultural legitimacy, formal law, and constitutional guarantees that seemed so prominent during the Clinton years were going to continue to develop uninterruptedly as a model for kind of global constitutionalism. What happened instead was that America's old nationalist-imperialist right connected to the oil companies, to the major industries and above all to the army, came back and reasserted a classically imperialist paradigm. The European Union can't do that. In fact, what you read about constitutional dynamics in the book "Empire" describes a lot better the way the EU is operating, even if they just failed miserably with the first attempt at a constitution. Still the overall notion of empire has a meaning, which is not just reducible to imperialism. Globalization is articulated around three major regions. The first is the United States, which has firmly established NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), and is trying to extend that over the entire western hemisphere in the form of the FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas), which they probably won't succeed in finishing. Realistically, they are aiming to push all the way down through Central America to Colombia and Venezuela, which will result in an articulated production bloc, over which they would like to have a more or less unified kind of control. The European Union has succeeded in responding to this quite rapidly, promoting its own continental unification with a more social-democratic kind of management. Here the question of legitimacy is much more important than for the Americans, who just need to take control, turn on the TV stations and start enforcing the rules. There is a third area in the world, South East Asia, where there is a beginning of institutional construction called the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations). It's very unclear what's going to happen there because of the role of Japan, which is the major center of capital accumulation in that part of the world. It appears impossible for the Japanese to assert any kind of central organizing control, because of what they did in World War II, the naked force, the atrocities. So you have this very uncertain situation, where Japan supplies the capital, the Chinese and the rest of the ASEAN countries do the labor, and no one really knows what the future will be. Empire is the controlled disagreement and rivalry between these three very shaky ways of getting people to work together. There is a global market, and the Americans obviously have a global military, but there isn't one global production schema. There are rather three evolving forms of continental integration, each with its own periphery. This is the key thing—each with its own periphery! And that's where we can finally start talking about the constitutionalism of the European Union.

The EU constantly presents itself as an entirely legitimate sort of democratic, integrative thing, based on rights, cultures, languages, exchanges. It wants to present itself as a kind of utopia; but it too has its periphery. In fact, I would say there are two peripheries: an internal periphery, underneath the umbrella of the single currency, and this sort of gigantic free-trade bloc around it. The internal periphery is mainly the former East, where many of the countries are now becoming members of the EU. I'm sure we're going to see a transfer of low-waged jobs to the internal periphery of the EU, and the emergence of an increasing number of mechanisms to maintain the distinction between people living on the periphery and the people living on the center, i.e. Germany, Belgium, Holland, France, Italy and Spain. Of course, England is a kind of pivot for all this, it's the force that tries to draw the whole European construction over into the American bloc, while Germany and France constantly resist England's strategy, as everybody saw so clearly during the last Iraq war. For me, that's the big picture. We have to talk about all that, before we begin to talk about anything specific. Then we get to the question: "What's life like on these two European peripheries?"

Q: Life on the peripheries has already changed. Ten former socialist countries from Central and Eastern Europe are joining the EU on May 1st. The question arises how this periphery, these Eastern countries, are going to fit in? Taking the obvious cultural differences into account: how can they accommodate Western standards? This paradigm shift led by the heritage of socialism—is it going to happen, or is it going to just stay like it is?

BH: I think this is a huge historical process. It's going to continue, potentially over generations. The initial construction of the EU involved a lot of attempts to harmonize territorially what was happening in the member states. There are what they call structural funds, which were given to Greece, Portugal, Spain, Ireland. Those countries were really the big winners in the first enlargement of the EU, during the '70s and the '80s particularly. Of course, this raised a lot of hopes for all the new entrants into the EU, but what you see now is a bit different. There are nowhere near as much structural funds available to achieve this kind of equalization and implementation of a common standard of production and consumption that allowed the Spanish and the Portuguese to reach the same level as their immediate neighbors, the French. I don't think they're going to be able to achieve that with the new members, because the EU has shifted from being a political project to become a free trade bloc. The inner periphery is not joining the EU that it dreamt of in the '70s and '80s. It's not a Vaclav Havel, literary sort of thing where they build theaters and give everyone a fair trial. It's a production machine where you're ultimately competing with the United States and some combination of Japan and China. Now, if you go to the outer periphery, it becomes worse. What is the interest of this space outside the border? From the capitalist point of view, the interest is that you can take advantage of weak labor laws, you can take advantage of all kinds of zones where there are no rights, not even the relatively meager rights which you're going to have inside the EU. On the inner periphery, those rights will have to be more or less respected. But outside, you can really have predatory capitalism. And what

is there to stop it? A historical project for an alternative to capitalism generated cultural forms which are now rejected, because of, what did they call it? – "democratic centralism." Basically, the Soviet-style bureaucracy was unbearable, insufferable, and all those cultural and organizational forms have been rejected. Now the countries on the outer periphery are going to be exposed to a very savage form of predatory capitalism. So when you think about what you're going to do over the next few years, just keep in mind that everywhere there's a need for the reinvention of cultures of resistance.

This need for cultures of resistance is interesting for all of us, and at the same time very daunting for all of us, very formidable as a challenge. Because everyone is faced with a similar mix of situations. You can see the same thing on the edges of the American bloc. When you live in Latin America, you can use some of the tools that are coming from the center, but the conditions under which you live are much more dramatic and savage. People are facing the danger of having no income, of having no more functioning state to develop any kind of social welfare programs; and in cultural terms, there is the danger of having no places sheltered from the market. But this also means that people are forced to take risks, to invent new structures, to develop new solidarities. The question then becomes: can people trying to resist the capitalist process in the central areas find ways to cooperate with people living on the peripheries, while recognizing the differences and not just confidently exporting the beginnings of whatever solution or ideology they are finding to areas where the conditions are not at all the same? I think this would be a question to ask, the question of solidarity.

Q: We mentioned the first EU enlargement, which invested much more instructional reanimation in institutions, in terms of accommodating certain Western standards. Right now, it seems that the strategy of EU enlargement has changed. Everything seems to be based on power, not on financial investments and structural funds. This approximates what actually exists in Western countries. Could this mean that we are experiencing a process of structuring an open-trade market and locating new labor resources?

BH: At this point, globalization is everywhere a capitalist project, developing simultaneously on the regional and world scales. But this project is always expressed through local systems of governance and culture. In the situation on the external periphery of Europe, as in Serbia, what you are likely to see is a strong manipulation by people who want to create a local system of power, which will develop in parallel to a predatory capture of markets. Markets are very important to the central countries, much more so than labor which can increasingly be done by robots. If you want to get somewhere in the world, invent a consuming robot! In the case of Serbia, there will be a much smaller capture of some kind of labor force. That has happened on a larger scale in other peripheral countries, such as Hungary or the Czech Republic, where they're using what's considered a sophisticated and yet very cheap labor force, somewhat like what the Irish labor force was considered to be in the '70s and '80s. Poland is a third case, which is going to become increasingly important. The question for them is, are they going to be able to develop their education systems as Ireland did? Are they going to emerge from the position of being a cut-rate, unregulated cheap-labor zone? I'm afraid that's not even the question in countries like Serbia. Rather, it's about buying up certain kinds of resources, for instance tourist infrastructure, which is massively owned by Western interests now; so it's about invasively taking over markets. But there's not going to be any particular investment in the political and cultural system of the outer peripheries. The EU wants those countries to remain relatively stable, without too many civil wars—but they will accept anything that works. What we are likely to see, in the absence of any deep institution-building, is the attempt by the local political classes to create some kind of national identity, a folkloric identity, where cultural differences are maintained. And these differences are also maintained to give people a way to explain the tremendous difference between their situation and the situation of people living just on the other side of the border, like the capacity for mobility, for having a job and an education, which is dramatically different. So, if they explain to you that your identity is dramatically different, then this could be quite useful for a political class who wants to find the way to try to set up an enduring structure of governance. Unfortunately, all the things I've just described are also the perfect recipe for inter-ethnic wars, and if you look around, you'll see that those wars are becoming the way that imperial geopolitical management "works"...

So what about people who want to do experiments in media? And what if these are not only experiments in creativity and expressivity, but also in connectivity, in organization, in processes of what I would call micro-representation, where you find a way to network among small groups? All this is a very contemporary experiment in democracy. It's also a self-managed educational process. It also trains a sophisticated labor force. And it even opens up markets for consumer electronics, for media products, for lifestyles and all those things. So the small, independent initiatives are at the center of all the contradictions! For these good reasons you will get a lot of interest from the European civil societies and from the EU cultural funders, plus a much more ambivalent treatment from the local political class, for which you are at once a kind of promise and a kind of threat, simultaneously. The easy solution, of course, is to be the poster boys and girls for a cultural modernization that only happens in a few bureaucrats' dreams. Or to be the gadflies of a hometown techno-class that interfaces between the local power-brokers and the EU businesses. But neither of those solutions are really enough when you have to live under the constant shadows of fascism, civil war, international intervention, and the whole disaster show that goes along with capitalist globalization. So I guess the question of what used to be called "institution-building" gets somehow real again, but in a different way.

Q: Those small, independent initiatives that you have mentioned don't necessarily need to stay small, with limited influence. When we talk about media and new communication technologies, there is always the question of infrastructure. The latter is a very interesting thing, especially in the Eastern part of Europe. Yet, an underdeveloped infrastructure is also a great opportunity for building up mainstream media monopolies. What is the future or are the possibilities for independent media initiatives in Europe and beyond?

BH: There is always the question of the relationship between alternative media and major media, which we don't talk about enough. If you want to extend the kinds of experimental practices that you're interested in, eventually you come to a point where it's a question of enlarging. That means both enlarging the number of people who are collaborating with you, and also your infrastructure—your space, equipment base, and the possibility for people to work on full-time projects. And then you have to confront your real situation in society. Lot of people became aware of this when Soros pulled out of places like the former Yugoslavia. There had been a possibility to develop in a kind of social vacuum, because people came from the US or Northern Europe with all these ideals of legitimacy and the need for direct democratic expression and access to media and so on, and they gave a sort of a "jump start" to lots of initiatives. It wasn't really so different in the central countries. We saw tremendous growth in these "democratic experiments," experiments in representation and communication, which initially surfed on the stock-market boom. They developed along paths of rhizomatic singularization, in a way that was predicted surprisingly well by Guattari in late '80s and early '90s. But how far can they go before they come up against the wall of capitalistic culture, which is basically defined by the major media? How can we stave off the integration of these new expressive and communicational possibilities into a system of flexible production, consumption and management that's still beneath the boot of those who control the major media? I think it's an unresolved question all over the world. There hasn't been much penetration of the media, because people don't want to. And they're right! But we do need infrastructure and a lot more small institutions, which could manage things like festivals, but with enough autonomy to actually produce access to more than just tools, access to a whole kind of a culture of self-organization and co-operativity. So far, what we have is a kind of a floating situation with temporary sorts of gatherings and great amount of a volunteer work, which is very good. But maybe we need to find how to expand the volunteer aspect, while creating certain kinds of infrastructure or institutions that don't bureaucratize or commercialize, and don't halt the kind of innovation that creates the desire on which everything is founded. This would be a real development of constituent power, in its divergence from all the constituted powers. I think that's the interesting perspective. What Geert Lovink said at the Neuro festival was right: "Things begin with an event." The event, in the mid and late '90s, was "networked media becoming accessible." Then came political events: the anti-globalization movement. And also institutional events: the invention of all these little media centers. We are now living off those events, and the question is: "How can we start to invent something that transforms a big surprise into sort of possibility for many, many smaller ones—without taking away the possibility of another big surprise?"

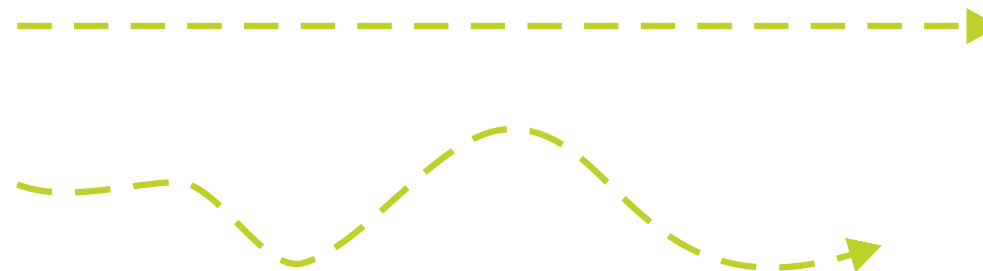
Q: Now we come to this question of solidarity, which is present in every kind of process of cooperation, networking and working together. Could you elaborate on the parallel you draw between the movement of non-aligned countries that existed during '60s, and the present situation, where witness a growth of independent social and media movements world-wide.

BH: I think it's something we could all really look out for. In a text called "Imaginary Maps, Global Solidarities," I wrote about the non-aligned movement, which was built up in the '60s, particularly around India, Cuba, and the former Yugoslavia, and which was also an important reference point for the political resistance movements and counter-cultures of the developed countries. By evoking that, I just wanted to give a kind of historical analogy to an unfulfilled possibility of today. I think there is nothing like that right now, but I also think that something similar will be or already is a necessity. In the emergence of a stronger cooperation between India, South Africa and Brazil, there is a kind of direct echo of the non-aligned movement. But I'm not sure it's enough. I don't think that we've yet seen an invention in those terms. And I'm not sure that we've really seen an invention with the "social forum movement" either, because there's a lot of nostalgia for the non-aligned movement, and for modernist central planning. The ones who have that nostalgia tend to be the better-organized ones, because they're still inhabiting the organizations that came out of that period. But the problem is that they don't face the failures of the modernizing projects. That is a certain limit on the amount of people who can be integrated into those projects, leaving behind the massive reality of those who are excluded. You can see it very clearly in countries like Argentina. It was a modernizing society, an industrial system with European-style social guarantees, including health care, public education, retirement benefits and so on. What happened is that the capitalist project we were talking about before just destroyed that modernizing attempt, in a process that goes from the dictatorship in Argentina in 1976-83 all the way to the Menem period in the '90s, when public services were massively sold off, according to the plan of the IMF but to the direct profit of the local political class. That political class became tremendously rich, along with the local business class. At the same time, literally half the population of the country lost the possibility to make a living. So, the question is what kind of political invention is going to arise to take account of this disaster that's unfolding in the world? It's really a disaster, and therefore different kinds of political constructions are arising, you can see them on the horizon. It's clearest in Latin America. But, the traditional leftist way, the one that's represented with a great deal of hope by Lula in Brazil, is probably too closely attached to the stagnant institutions of the industrial age, and to the power system that put them into place, then partially destroyed them. What needs to be discovered now are political and organizational forms that give people the space and resources to take care of themselves, without forgetting or denying their dependency on everyone else.

So what I'm talking about is not to immediately leap on a bandwagon of the social forums, or of the Brazil-South Africa-India triangle, although these things are worthy of our interest. I don't want to deny the tremendous amount of effort that's going into constructing them, but there will need to be a further step, which can only happen if you ask the question of who's really included. From this viewpoint, if you've got your hands on a computer and a video camera, you are included, you're part of the modern economy. But we are talking about millions, even billions of people who increasingly don't have enough to eat. There's the ultimate urgency, and my feeling is that a leftism for our time will only come together when some network of social groups invents ways of responding to it on the continental and global scales. In that perspective the creation of transnational networks is very important, and the question of solidarity is what kind of active role can people like ourselves have, people who are included, but in a marginal way. A lot of people living in the Western European countries are included in a marginal way, we're included in what is called a "precarious" way, or an "unguaranteed" way. And it's interesting that a lot of people have actually chosen

this position. It's as if they said: "I don't want to be included in the mainstream project of this predatory capitalism, I prefer to be on the edges, in a marginal position." From that position, on the edges of that insane kind of rivalry between the production blocs that we were talking about before, it may be possible to look and listen enough to find out what kind of political invention is actually going to happen. I've begun to travel around the world for that reason, and you can see something starting. You can participate in it. But as far as I can tell, nobody can yet say exactly what it is.

Brian Holmes is a cultural theorist, art critic and member of the French activist association *Ne pas plier* (Do not bend). Since the Carnival against Capital in the City of London on June 18th, 1999, he has taken part in and written about several of the large demonstrations against corporate globalization.



Političke strategije za Evropu

Evropa je neophodna, ali da li je moguća?

-odlomak-

Antonio Negri
Septembar 2001

Jasno je da je politička Evropa neophodna iz istih razloga koji određuju aktuelni konstitutivni proces: težnja ka uspostavljanju mira između nacija koje je sačinjavaju, zajednički ekonomski prostor, zajednička kulturna denominacija etc. Ipak, da je Evropa neophodna snažno se javlja, po svemu sudeći, i u nekim drugim razlozima koji nisu samo statični, već dinamični i koji nisu samo istorijski, već i politički i aktuelni. Neophodnost Evrope rađa se iz susreta/sukoba sa postavkom globalnog tržišta, odnosno iz sukoba sa procesom konstituisanja Imperije koji se upravo realizuje.

U Imperiji, gde je nemoguća apsolutna demokratija (jedan čovek jednak je jednom glasu); gde se je sumnjiva, osim ako se ne radi o čistoj mistifikaciji ili iluziji, slika globalnog civilnog društva, neophodno je razgraničiti prostor u kome se priznaje demokratski izraz i odluka mnoštva, ako ne i njegova politička organizacija.

Danas, politički evropski prostor (ustrojen nad dugim i singularnim kulturnim kontinuitetom, kao i na specifičnoj ustavnoj dinamici) izgleda da je saglasan sa ovim neophodnim razgraničavanjem. Ne mogu da tvrdim da li je u ovom prostoru moguće misliti politički subjekt koji je adekvatan dimenzijama imperije. Ono što je sigurno je da izvan ovog prostora, a bez adekvatnog subjekta, nema demokratije za Evropu.

Ako su ovo preduslovi po kojima treba da se ravnamo, istražimo ove probleme.

Da li je moguće konstruisati ovaj prostor? Da li je moguće napraviti u tom prostoru, politički subjekt koji bi se suprotstavio onom imperijalnom? Ili bolje, koji se suprotstavlja drugima u odnosu na imperijalnu hegemoniju? Da li je moguća politička zajednica koja je vredna truda?

Nama se čini da je moguće dati pozitivan odgovor na ova pitanja ako se složimo oko pozicija koje su danas dominantne u raspravi o evropskoj politici. Neke od ovih pozicija pripadaju komunitarnoj raspravi (1), dok druge učestvuju u političkoj debati o Uniji (2).

Pozicije koje bliske komunitarnoj debati se kreću između ekstrema ove alternative:

- 1.1 Evropske zajednice kao čistog tržišnog prostora i njegove regulacije;
- 2.2 Evropske zajednice kao konfederacije suverenih nacionalnih država.
- 2.3 Jasno se iz ovih primera vidi da je Evropska unija napravljena kao imperijalna podorganizacija, odnosno kao jedna od decentralizovanih organizacija u imperijalnoj piramidi. U tom slučaju politička unija ne proizvodi niti demokratiju niti novu subjektivnosti unutar Imperije.

Primerda na pomenuto, određenih krugova, sastoji se u tome da kada bi se "vojno određenje" uzelo kao važnije od onog ekonomskog, Evropa bi se mogla uzdići iz svoje podređene funkcije koju joj je Imperija namenila. Ovo bi bilo tačno, jedino pod uslovom, koji je očigledno lažan, da se Evropa može odmah predstaviti, u svojoj celini, kao vojna moć. Ali, ona se takvom ne predstavlja: njena vojno određenje je trenutno necelovito, njima upravljaju pojedinačne nacionalne države. Stoga, kada se govori o vojnoj determinanti, Evropa se isključuje iz svakog razgovora ili odlučujuće uloge u delokrugu Imperije. Ako je insistiranje na vojnom određenju samo trik kako bi se potvrdila centralna uloga nacionalnih država u evropskoj i internacionalnoj realnosti, onda je učinak ovog prigovora još manje validan.

Jedna drugačija alternativa se pomalja pri razmatranju pozicija koje učestvuju u političkoj debati o uniji:

- 1.1 Evropska politička zajednica se, sa jedne strane, u ovoj perspektivi, smatra administrativno-pravnom super-državom (jednom rečju, Imperijom unutar Imperije);
- 2.2 a sa druge, Evropska zajednica se može čak zamišljati (kao što je to čest slučaj u trenutnim raspravama) kao Ustav bez Države, odnosno kao državotvorna struktura koju karakterišu brojni nivoi oragnizacije, pre nego promovisanje suverenog centra.

Ovde se radi, o ne-autentičnoj ustavnoj figuri, odnosno o slaboj/ranjivoj mašini konstitutivne moći. Ovu figuru karakteriše veliki demokratski deficit. U 2.1 Evropska zajednica kao da je poverena birokratskoj magistraturi koja proizvodi institucije kao posledice funkcionalističkog dinamizma. U 2.2 Unija je predata u ruke političko-pravnim mahinacijama koje podsećaju na one koje su upravljale Nemačkim Svetim rimskim carstvom i koji se mogu svesti na kombinaciju pufendorfijanske arhitektonike i rekacionarne imaginacije romantizma.

Po nekim pravicima, treba obnoviti poverenje u postojeće pravne dispozitive Evropske zajednice. Kada se stave u pogon, oni mogu da funkcionišu kao "konstitutivna moć" nove evropske suverenosti. Ova "ne-autentična" konstitutivna moć može da bude, po pravicima, proizvod ili unutrašnje institucionalne aktivnosti (evropski sudovi), ili efikasne međusobne kombinacije evropskih institucija, te institucija država članica. Unutrašnja birokratija zajednice postaje tako "deus ex machina" i ne samo da popunjava konstitucionalni deficit, već omogućava i njegovo prevazilaženje. Ovakve hipoteze se ne čine uverljivim. One u stvari predviđaju

jednu vrstu konstitutivne *governance*, koja se teško može zamisliti u ponuđenoj situaciji a) drugačije nego kao demokratski deficit same baze b) kao sigurni konflikt između evropskih elita c) kao suprotstavljeni t.j. destruktivni pritisci imperijalnih elita, američkih, ruskih itd.

U svakom slučaju, bez obzira kakva se politička i ustavotvorna rasprava bude nastavila u ovom pravcu, možda ćemo dobiti Evropsku zajednicu... Ali ona neće biti vredna truda, jer će biti, na upravljačkom nivou, potpuno podčinjena imperijalnoj komandi; na upravljačkom nivou, blokirana, zatvorena u pasivnost koja može da nađe samo isprazne puteve bega, put revolta ili put represije.

Pod kojim drugim uslovima je moguća politička Evropa koja vredi truda?

On je moguća jedino ako se međusobno nadopunjuju projekat Zajednice i demokratska mobilizacija evropskog mnoštva, i ako one reaguju eksplozivnom snagom na nivou i u svim dimenzijama celokupne Imperije. Drugim rečima, politička Evropa (koja vredi truda) je moguća jedino ako se evropsko mnoštvo stimuliše da uđe u stvaranje političke unije uz pomoć mobilizacije moćnih socijalnih slojeva (kako u produkciji dobara, tako i u ekspresiji vrednosti) - onih socijalnih slojeva koji, dakle, žele da kroz Evropu postignu više slobode, kako ovde, tako i u celom svetu.

Ovom prilikom treba podvući da ono što treba da interesuje one koji žele političku Evropu nije uspostavljanje demosa, već produkovanje političkog subjekta. Ali, nije moguće da politički subjekt izađe iz mnoštva, odnosno da se stvori politička Evropa vredna truda, ukoliko ne postoje podele, borba, odluke o vrednostima slobode.

Neka nam se ovde dopusti jedna kratka digresija. Evropa je bila umorna, posle veka bratoubilačkih ratova, kada je polovinom dvadesetog veka stara kosmopolitska utopija ponovo ponuđena i preformulisana u politički projekat ujedinjene Evrope. Paradoks ove odluke je u tome što je bila pokrenuta pre iz strateške nepohodnosti radi borbe protiv sovjetskog komunizma, nego iz efikasne potrage za političkom unijom, ekonomskom solidarnošću i ustavnom reformom. Evropski federalisti su se dugo borili protiv ovih nedostataka, ali su uvek ostajali zarobljenici pretpostavljenog strateškog okvira. A on je, posebno, isljučivao levicu i proleterijat iz evropskog projekta. Klasna podela je, dakle, upisana u evropski projekat i opstaje do današnjih dana. Evropski demos neće biti, stoga, moguće uspostaviti ukoliko se ne počne da iskopava ova praistorija, i ako se, na kraju krajeva, ponovo i realistično ova duboka podela ne aktivira, da bi konačno bilo moguće njeno prevazilaženje. U svakom slučaju, radi se o uzmanju u obzir pomentog sukoba (prošlog ili aktuelnog), jer jedino njegovo razmatranje omogućava, artikulaciju eventualnih političkih konvergencija. Kraj hladnog rata, sam po sebi, nije ništa razrešio, a čak nije omogućio da se razmišlja o tome nije li u sadašnje interenacionalne konflikte uključeno, na neki način, i klasno sukobljavanje. Upravo suprotno, razvoj imperijalnih tendencija iz devedesetih godina rizikuje da akcentuje (kao što je počelo da se vidi) alternative, koje se preko svake mere oslanjaju na ulogu nacionalnih država u stvaranju evropskog jedinstva. Ujedinjeno kraljevstvo, igra kao evroposkeptično oružje, svoju ulogu privilegovanog saveznika, u finansijskoj i vojnoj politici SAD-a. Druge evropske sile gledaju sa podozrenjem kontinentalnu supremaciju Francusko-nemačkog savezništva, itd, itd. Ako se želi prevazići ova situacija, rasprava o Evropi i priznavanje njenog pripadanja narodima koji je sačinjavaju, treba da oprcra novu fazu sukoba i alternativnog izražavanja vrednosti, mogućnosti i tendencija. Bez da se okupamo u ovoj regresiji života i u krvi, biće teško da nastavimo raspravu o Evropi.

Ko je, dakle, zainteresovan za ujedinjenu političku Evropu? Ko je taj evropski subjekt? To su one populacije i oni društveni slojevi koji žele da stvore apsolutnu demokratiju na imperijalnom nivou. One koje se predstavljaju kao kontra-imperija.

Ukratko, radi se o onim produktivnim slojevima (manje ili više proletereskim) kojima je neophodno (iz razloga vezanih za njihovu produktivnu snagu) da traže:

- a) univerzalniji status državljanstva, odnosno širu mobilnost za sebe i za druge;
- b) zagarantovani dohodak, odnosno materijalnu mogućnost, za mnoštvo, da bude fleksibilnije u proizvodnji bogatstva i u reprodukciji života;
- c) zajedničko vlasništvo nad sredstvima proizvodnje: pod čim se podrazumevaju nova sredstva proizvodnje. Ako, drugim rečima, intelektualni radnik ne poseduje sopstveni radni alat, to jest mozak, onda on nije ni proleter, već rob. Želi se, dakle, sloboda.

Pomalja se novi proleterijat koji je stvorio novi način kapitalističke proizvodnje. To je mnoštvo koje se, u postmoderno doba, okuplja i rekonponuje na najrazličitijim produktivnim mestima - u stvari, svaka aktivnost je postala mesto od kada je kapitalistička lokalizacija produkcije postala ne-mesto, od kada je fordistička fabrika razmontirana u postfordističkom društvu. U pitanju je stalni i alternativni egzodus, gde se nematerijalni i nestabilni proleterijat razvija i sukobljava, unutar procesa globalizacije, sa Imperijom. Da li je moguće pridodati ovom evropskom proleterijatu, kao putanju egzodusa, i evropski projekat? Jednom rečju, zalažem se protiv svih pokušaja da se od Evrope napravi velika suverena sila, kapitalistička super-sila, blok konzervativnih snaga (bile one zelene ili žute, crne ili crvene)? Traži se Evropa inteligentnih i siromašnih, radosnih i mobilnih, ljudi koja razbija svaku vrednost konstituisane moći. Da li preko cele Evrope može da započne zapatistički marš intelektualne radne snage? Evropa regiona, Evropa nacija, Evropa imperijalna provincija itd, itd: a dali možemo, obrnuto, da počnemo da govorimo o Evropi kao o revolucionarnom ne-mestu imperije?

Treba naglasiti da uslovi koje smo izložili predstavljaju dijagram ne samo političke, nego i biopolitičke konstitucije Evropske unije. Govorim "biopolitika", jer danas univerzalne pravne osnove (državljanstvo, primanja, zajedničkog vlasništva) čine preduslove,

odnosno onotološki substrat, sprovođenja same slobode. Politika je investirala život na isti način na koji je život investirao političko: u ustavu ujedinjene Evrope ovaj odnos mora da se zadrži kao fundamentalan i nepromenljiv.

Za zaključak treba reći:

- Evropski subjekt (i sa njim Evropska unija koja vredi truda) može da oformi samo nova evropska levica. Problemi konstruisanja evropske zajednice i formiranja nove levice su sinhronijski.

- Novi evropski subjekt ne odbija, dakle, globalizaciju, već naprotiv, konstruiše političku Evropu kao mesto sa koga se govori protiv globalizacije, unutar globalizacije, na taj način kvalifikujući se (počevši od evropskog prostora) za protu-moć u odnosu na kapitalističku hegemoniju Imperije.

Ali vratimo se političkom centru naše debate i prodiskutujmo još neke probleme:

I) Na primedbu da je kapitalistička (neoliberalna) inicijativa u konstruisanju sub-imperijalne Evrope isuviše uznapredovala, jer na ovu anticipaciju, može da se da bilo kakav odgovor (dakle, jedina mogućnost leži u odbrani nacionalnih država),

II) treba odgovoriti: otpor na nacionalnom nivou nije više moguć, nacionalna država (čak i ako je konfederalna) je već u potpunosti usisana u dinamiku Imperije... Dakle, moguće je jedino ponovo pokrenuti borbu unutar same Imperije. Afiramcija "realizma" se ne sastoji iz promovisanja povlačenja *alla Kutusov*, niti iz upražnjavanja "evroskepticizma", već iz insistiranja na (čak i zakasnelog, u situaciji poraza...) na stvaranju globalne alternative koja može da pruži mesto događanjima prekida.

III) Mi dakle, govorimo: skoncentrišimo se na stvaranje (nove) levice na evropskom nivou, pre nego na bilo koji drugi cilj. Tokom tog stvaranja (kao i Evropu samu) možemo/moramo da u njega uložimo imperijalno ne-mesto, na subverzivan način.

IV) Na primedbu da je Evropa siromašna, da nema primarnih sirovina kao ni nafte, da ima finansije i monetu koje su u potpunosti podčinjene globlanom tržištu, da nema atomsku bombu niti moć da odlučuje o ratu, itd.

V) treba odgovoriti da je Evropa bogata snagom-stvaranja i formama života. U tom neposedovanju primarnih sirovina, u toj finansijskoj i monetarnoj ranjivosti, u toj ekstremnoj vojnoj nemoći, ne pobeđuje ponovno pronalaženje "demosa" ili antičke (demotičke) solidarnosti, već je u pitanju stvaranje nove biopolitičke imaginacije koja, u odnosu sa telurskom mobilnošću radnika i siromaha, i u odnosu sa mobilizacijom novih inteligencija, postaje egzodus od jada ekonomskih i političkih formi modernosti.

VI) Uz ovo što je rečeno, treba podvući i činjenicu da svaki put, počevši od sedamdesetih godina, kada je Evropa tražila da stavi u pogon odlučujući institucionalni prelazak, uvek su, određivane, gotovo na olujni način, akutne situacije krize. Sve one su poticale iz ranjive utrobe Imperije, iz tog Srednjeg istoka gde se formira cena dobrog dela roba koje su nepohodne Evropi - kao što je nafta, i gde preovlađuju najreakcionarnije vladavine na našoj planeti. Ova koincidencija ne sme da bude ispuštena iz razmatranja pro-evropske levice. Ona mora da razume da konstruisati Evropu znači boriti se, u određenom vremenu, kako protiv onih koji stvaraju cenu nafte, tako i protiv reakcionarnih vlada Srednjeg istoka, protiv dolarskih i naftaških Talibana.

prevela i odabrala Ksenija Stevanović

Antonio Negri je italijanski filozof, pisac i nezavisni istraživač. Nakon 14 godina egzila u Francuskoj, 1996. godine se vratio u Italiju da bi nastavio služenje svoje kazne. Kao i stotine ljudi, Toni Negri je bio osuđen i proteran iz Italije zbog svojih političkih aktivnosti tokom 70-ih godina. Među njegovim brojnim publikacijama, značajno je napomenuti: *The Politics of Subversion: A Manifesto for the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, originalno objavljen 1986), *The Labour of Dionysos: A Critique of a State-Form* (1994) i, zajedno sa Michael Hardt, *Empire* (2000).

Foreigners camps in Europe – Democracy at risk*

Kampovi za strance u Evropi, opasnost po demokratiju

Seminar u Evropskom parlamentu, 24. 25.6. 2003.

Demokratija za strance - opasnost po Evropu

Izveštaj sa post-jugoslovenskog higijenskog koridora

Ivana Momčilović, Kolektiv Eimigracija

Kao socijalistička, ali i antistaljinistička zemlja koja je uživala zaštitu Nato pakta, svojom ambivalentnom ulogom, bivša Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija je godinama održavala higijenu hladnog rata igrajući ulogu tampona među blokovima. I dok je na hiljade političkih disidenata iz istočne Evrope nalazilo utočište u državi (ne)realnog socijalizma (do 1989), jugoslovenskim izbeglicama u vreme realnog liberalizma (od 1991) napravljen je bedem od recikliranih cigli Berlinskog zida.

Drugim rečima, kada je figuru "freedom fightera", borca za željena ljudska prava, "političkog emigranta", ultimativnog svedoka, intelektualca i sportistu, koji je bežao iz totalitarizma kroz garderobe otmenih robnih kuća Zapada, zamenio izbeglica drugačijeg imidža - bosonogi, ružni, prljavi, zli, osiromašeni i nepozvani, iz ratne zone Jugoslavije, onaj koji je sa naramkom golog života zakucao preko kukuruza u prvu zemlju Demokratije, Državu Šengen, Evropa se našla, osim pred prvom većom emigracijom posle Oktobarske revolucije, takođe, pred dilemom: propovedana sloboda ili realna jednakost za sve građane zajedničkog evropskog prostora. Danas definitivno znamo da se na slučaju Jugoslavija, evropska zvanična imigraciona politika odlučila za humanitarni diskurs apstraktnih ljudskih prava, privremenu pomoć u nevolji "oslobođenih", ali nikako ne i radikalno političko saniranje složenog problema evropske emigracije, svih onih "sa periferije" koji priželjkju boji život "unutra". Zatvarajući se sve više u sopstvene bedeme segregacionom emigracionom politikom i predlažući nedavno čak i eksternalizaciju ove politike van zona svog dvorišta, trenutna emigraciona "politika" Evropske unije, sudeći po broju onih koji i dalje grčevito žele da se dočepaju "Obećane Zemlje", funkcioniše po principu amplifikacije, pojačavajući a ne rešavajući problem. Poznata je teza da fantazmatsko mesto wel fare statea, u koje više ne veruju ni sami Evropljani, održavaju upravo oni koji plivaju do obala Evrope, njih 3771 umrlih od 1993. na bedemima Šengena. Među njima dosta ex/post Jugoslovena.

Nastavljajući ovu tezu, može se reći da generalni odnos prema emigrantima, na evropskom području, kada se posmatra u dužem vremenskom periodu i nakon II svetskog rata, ima sva obeležja hipokrizije. Činjenica je da tek kada je jednom ušlo u zemlju, lice dobija zaštitu. Ovo navodi osobe koje traže zaštitu da traže pomoć krijumčara, pošto su legalni putevi prelaska granice veoma suženi. Prema nedavno preminulom profesoru sociologije beogradskog univerziteta, Draganu Raduloviću, koji se bavio problemom prodaje ljudi na teritoriji Jugoslavije (sex trafficking), krijumčarenje izbeglica je oduvek postojalo i nije nov fenomen. Aktivnosti Oskara Sindlera i Raula Weleberga bi danas sigurno bile ocenjene kao krijumčarske. Ali, za vreme II svetskog rata, krijumčarenje je smatrano herojskim aktom. Ono postaje problem 90-ih, kada neželjeni talas azilanata "stiže u Evropu." Dakle, tek onda kada evropske zemlje kreću da redukuju svoju graničnu kontrolu (viza politikom), krijumčarenje postaje problem i kriminalni akt. Ali, posto se graniče ne mogu hermetički zatvoriti, radna snaga koja je evropskom patronatu i te kako potrebna, unapred se kriminalizuje, gura se u ruke organizovanom kriminalu i kriminalnim transnacionalnim mrežama. Tako dolazimo do politike efekta bumerang: pooštavajući ulaz u Vrata raja, želja onih koji su još uvek izvan njih svakodnevno raste, zajedno sa željom onih koji bi na tuđim zeljama zarađivali (organizovani kriminal).

Jugoslavija je danas zemlja sa 250.000 ljudi ubijenih u ratu (od 1991. do danas); 1,5 million je interno raseljenih lica, dok je isti toliki broj emeigrirao van zemlje. Toliki, možda i veći broj sprema se da pređe, ilegalno ili ne granicu novog Rima, Šengenske države koja čuva Imperiju od nadolazećih Varvara. Push faktor post-jugoslovenske emigracije svakako predstavlja spori tranzicijski proces, kao i sve veće nezadovoljstvo i siromaštvo razočaranog i umornog stanovništva. Pull faktor, onaj koji mami je svakako atraktivnost Evrope, napor koji ulaže u obećanje boljeg života za sve koji se odluče za civilizaciju "sigurnih, evropskih vrednosti".

Svi ovi faktori zajedno, danas čine Jugoslaviju zemljom Trećeg sveta, čije se stanovništvo svakodnevno u dugim redovima ispred evropskih ambasada bori sa efektima skandalozne evropske politike "emigracija nula". One politike, koja radnu snagu potrebnu Evropi, represivnom politikom, pretvara u ilegalnu i jeftinu radnu snagu koja ne učestvuje u socijalnom transferu evropskih zemalja i koja ima status pod-građana. Ovome treba pridodati važnu činjenicu da trenutna opresivna i pre svega nepolitična imigraciona politika Evrope u kojoj je jedini uslov legalizacije papira, humanitarni, odnosno azilantski, tera potraživače azila na neprestano fabuliranje i ulepšavanje svojih biografija u nesreći. Nijedna tragedija nije dovoljna tragedija, nijedna nesreća se ne čini pravom, svedoci smo susreta sa potraživačima azila sa teritorije Jugoslavije koji i dan danas osvežavaju svoje priče detaljima, koji im se čine patetičnijim od već postojećeg užasa i patosa.

Jugoslavija je takođe zemlja koja ne izdaje politički azil trećim licima koji se zatiču na njenoj teritoriji, pokušavajući da se domognu šengenskog prostora. Trenutno, u izolovanom motelu "Hiljadu i jedna ruža" nadomak Beograda, 33 lica i 9 dece avganistanske, liberijske, iračke i somalijske nacionalnosti, čeka siguran negativni odgovor od lokalnog Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova. Susret sa njima je nemoguć bez posrednika iz Visokog Komesarijata za izbeglice, koga nismo uspeali da nađemo. Primljena u Savet Evrope, Srbija i Crna Gora će takođe morati da prođe proces normalizacije i harmonizacije evropske emigracione politike. To znači da će na glavnim aerodromima biti otvorena fiktivna mogućnost potraživanja azila (iskustva Francuske i drugih zemalja govore nam o fenomenu skrivenih zatvora za strance na evropskim aerodromima, u koje se ovakva, dobro skrivana mesta, na kraju pretvaraju).

S druge strane, uhvaćena na granicama, ilegalna emigracija, oko 2000 onih koji godišnje bivaju uhapšeni, zatvarana je i do 3 nedelje u zatvor u Padinskoj skeli (oko 20km od Beograda). Broj onih koje lokalne vlasti ne uhvate naravno je jedini relevantan. Ovaj kratki tekst i jeste posvećen njima. Stotinama hiljada nevidljivih, neprebrojanih, onih koji nikada neće stići do kampa. Teza Prima Levija kaže da je "ključni svedok izostao, pošto je mrtav". Mi se slažemo i kažemo: ključni svedok evropske emigracione politike je onaj koji nije stigao do kampa, plutajući, u momentu dok ovo pišemo, od jedne do druge granice šengenskog prostora. On i stotine hiljada poput njega, prava su i najveća smetnja za evropsku demokratiju.

*naslov ovog teksta pervertirani je naslov seminara organizovanog u Evropskom parlamentu, juna 2003, posvećenog novim logorima u Evropi (Kampovi za strance u Evropi – Demokracija u opasnosti). Autorka ovog teksta, smatrala je da je kamp gotovo anegdotalna, isturena i nadasve vidljiva strana dobro skrivanog problema: problema "nevidljivih" koji nikada do kampa neće stići, kao i njihovih sudbina. Zato je naslov ovog kratkog ekspozea izmenjen u: Demokracija za strance - opasnost po Evropu (na opšte nezadovoljstvo izvesnog broja evropskih parlamentaraca, koji su pomenuti ekspozee smatrali napadom na "dobre namere skupa", između ostalog, Daniel Cohn Bandita, predstavnika nemačkih Zelenih pri Evropskom parlamentu, kao jedne od sazivačkih partija skupa).

Foreigners' camps in Europe – Democracy at risk

Seminar at the European Parliament, June 24th and 25th, 2003

Democracy for Foreigners - Europe at Risk

A report from the post-Yugoslav hygienic corridor

Ivana Momčilović, for collective Eimigrative art

Because of its ambivalence as a socialist, but also an anti-Stalinist country enjoying the protection of the NATO pact, the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has for years maintained the hygiene of the cold war, playing the role of a buffer between the blocs. While thousands of political dissidents from Eastern Europe were finding shelter in the state of non-real socialism (until 1989), a wall was made for the Yugoslav refugees at the time of real liberalism (from 1991) from recycled bricks of the Berlin Wall.

In other words, when the figure of the freedom fighter, the fighter for the much desired human rights, "the political emigrant", the ultimate witness, the intellectual, and sportsman running away from totalitarianism through the dressing rooms of upper class Western department stores, was replaced by a refugee with a different appearance: the barefoot, ugly, dirty, evil, impoverished and uninvited from the war zone of Yugoslavia; the one who carrying only his bare life over his shoulder, sneaked through corn fields and knocked on the doors of the first country of Democracy: the State of Schengen. Europe was faced not only with the first great emigration since the October revolution, but also with a dilemma: the much spoken about freedom, or real equality for all citizens of the joint European space. Nowadays, we definitely know that in the case of Yugoslavia, the official European immigration policy has opted for a humanitarian discourse of abstract human rights for temporary aid to the "liberated" in distress, but certainly not for a radical political solution for the complex problem of European emigration, concerning those "from the periphery" longing for a better life "inside". By closing itself ever more within its own walls by an emigration policy of segregation - and by proposing to extend this policy beyond its own back yard - the current emigration "policy" of the European Union functions according to the principle of amplification that is increasing and not solving the problem, judging by the number of those who still struggle to get to the shores of the "Promised Land". It is a well-known thesis that the phantasmagoric location of the welfare state, in which even the Europeans do not believe anymore, is maintained exactly by those who swim to the shores of Europe. 3,771 have died at the walls of Schengen since 1993. Among them many ex/post -Yugoslavs.

Following this thesis, one might say that the general relation towards emigrants in the European region, when viewed in a longer time frame and after World War II, has all the signs of hypocrisy.

It is a fact that a person may enjoy protection only after he/she has entered the country. This drives people in need of protection to seek help from smugglers, since the legal routes of entry are very narrow. According to Professor of sociology at the University of Belgrade, Dragan Radulovic, who also researches the problem of sex trafficking in the territory of Yugoslavia, the smuggling of refugees has always existed and is not a new problem. Activities of Oskar Schindler and Raul Weleberg would certainly be labeled as smuggling nowadays. But, during World War II smuggling was considered as a heroic act. It became a problem in the 1990s, when an undesired wave of asylum seekers "arrived" in Europe. Therefore, only when European countries made their border control stricter (through visa policies), smuggling became a problem and a crime. Since the borders cannot be closed hermetically, the workforce that Europe needs is criminalized *a priori*, and pushed into the hands of organized crime and criminal transaction networks. Here, we come to the boomerang-effect policy: by making the entry through the Doors of Heaven more difficult, the desire of those who are still on the other side to pass through it, increases by the day together with the desire of those who wish to make money out of other people's desires (organized crime).

Nowadays, (ex/post) Yugoslavian territory is a space with 250,000 casualties of war (from 1991 until this day); 1.5 million internally displaced, and with the same number emigrated. As many, maybe even more of them, are preparing to cross, illegally or not, the borders of the New Rome, the State of Schengen that is guarding the Empire from the upcoming Barbarians. The push factor of the post-Yugoslav emigration is certainly the slow transition process, but also the increasing dissatisfaction and poverty of the disappointed and tired population. The pull factor, the alluring one, is certainly the attractiveness of Europe, and the effort it is investing in promising a better life for all those who opt for the civilization of secure European values.

Together, all these factors make Serbia and Montenegro a Third World country of, whose population stands in long queues in front of European embassies, and struggles daily with the effects of the scandalous European emigration policy. The latter that has turned the much needed workforce in Europe - through its repressive policies - into an illegal and cheap workforce, devoid of participation in the social transition of European countries. In addition it renders the workers sub-citizens. One should note that the current oppressive - and above all unpolitical - European immigration policy, which only permits legalization on grounds of humanitarian or asylum aspects, forces asylum seekers constantly to make up and exaggerate the misery in their biographies. No tragedy is big enough, no misfortune seems real, and we witness the wave of asylum seekers from the territory of Yugoslavia who, even today, freshen up their stories with details that they see as more pathetic than the existing horror and pathos.

Serbia and Montenegro is also a country that does not grant political asylum for third persons who enter the country on their way to the Schengen region. Currently, in an isolated motel near Belgrade, 33 adults and 9 children - Afghans, Liberians, Iraqis and Somalis - are waiting for the guaranteed negative reply from the local Ministry of Interior. It is impossible to meet them without

the mediation of the High Commissioner for Refugees, whom we have not been able to locate. Allowed into the Council of Europe, Serbia and Montenegro will also have to go through the process of normalization and harmonization with the European immigration policy. This means that a fictional possibility to seek asylum will be opened at key airports. For example the experience of France and other countries speak about the phenomenon of hidden prisons for foreigners at European airports. Each year around 2000 immigrants are caught at the borders, and are being held in the Padinska Skela prison (20 km from Belgrade) for up to three weeks. Of course, the only relevant thing is the number of those whom the local authorities did not catch. This short text is dedicated to them. The hundreds of thousands of invisibles, uncounted: those who will never reach the camp. A premise Primo Levi holds that "the key witness is absent, because he is dead". We agree and say: the key witness of Europe's immigration policy is the one who has not reached the camp. At this moment he is floating from one border of the Schengen region to the other. He, and hundreds of thousands like him, are the true and biggest obstacles for European democracy.

Topolitika dvostruke spoljašnjosti

Katherine Carl i Srđan Jovanović Vajs

SJV: Nalazimo se ispred novog zaokreta u tranziciji, koju karakteriše rastuća virtuelnost i nova globalna poravnjanja, nastala kao rezultat uvećavanja Evropske unije. Istorija umetnosti i arhitektura se nalaze u zanimljivoj poziciji; kroz njih mogu da se posmatraju i interpretiraju novi urbani uslovi izvan EU. Radi se o izjednačavanju gradova koji do danas nisu imali mnogo toga sličnog. Zahvaljujući EU koja tumara prema topografijama Istoka, takva mesta su iznenada u vezi. Ona stvaraju svoju sopstvenu spoljašnjost prema ujedinjenju. Uzmimo dve tačke iz spoljašnjosti EU kao što su Novi Sad i Njujork, tako blizu i tako daleko. Zanimljivo je da sada postoje mogućnosti da se poveže grad koji je toliko veliki, sa gradom koji je prilično mali.

KC: EU koja raste: da li će doći svoj spoljašnji limit, da li će se pokidati, pući ili proubiti? Ili je Evropska unija elastični univerzum? U pravu si. U odnosu prema unutrašnjoj konstelaciji Evropske unije, nova spoljašnjost tek što nije stvorena. To ne mora da znači da se radi o svesnom repositioniranju prema EU. Začudo, SAD su sada izvan ove šeme, iako sebe često vide u samom centru. Na taj način se susreću sumnjive kombinacije i postavlja se pitanje ko se sa kim i gde neočekivano sreće "napolju"? Ako bi se, po američkom slengu, na ostatak sveta gledalo kao na "spoljašnjost," unutrašnjost EU zvučala bi kao zatvor, iako bi na EU moglo pre da se gleda kao na tvrđavu dobrovoljaca. Prema američkoj imaginaciji, Evropa bi više ličila na luksuznu, izolovanu zajednicu. SAD bi bile iznenađene da čuju da Balkan nije jedini izostavljen iz Evrope. Zahvaljujući uzdizanju nove klasne podelu u EU i jačanju Eura, SAD takođe mogu da se nađu potpuno izostavljene. Moguće je da će upravo to imati pozitivan efekat na slabljenje binarnih načina razmišljanja o SAD, i na napuštanje parohijalnog načina razmišljanja u SAD.

SJV: Zatvori su i dalje pragmatični, dok se, sa druge strane, dobrovoljno zatvaranje rađa iz žudnje. EU zna kako da uhvati pragmatizam drugih u žudnji za pripadanjem uniji i da ga poveže sa simbolom majke država-nacija sve od Klasične Grčke do danas. Međutim, EU ne uspeva da barata sa nestabilnošću, gde se nalaze izvori nove inteligencije, inovacije i nova sredstva. Nestabilnost predstavlja pretnju za EU zbog spuštanja standarda primene oštrih pravila koja se, sa druge strane, promovišu kao "mekani" i "blagi" zakoni dobrog života. Oštra pravila, poželjna za ekonomsku stabilnost, nalaze metaforu u arhitekturi čije su slike odštampane na evropskim novčanicama. Novčanica od 500 Evra promovise savremenu arhitektonsku fasadu [ili kako bi ona trebala da izgleda]. Ako se pažljivo pogleda crtež fasade na novčanici, ona je bliža bankarskoj nego građanskoj arhitekturi, bliža ogledajućim administrativnim zgradama nego arhitekturi pozorišta, muzeja ili galerija. Izgled fasade nagoveštava gostoprimstvo, ali je fiktivan posetilac zaustavljen odrazom u staklu, sa kog se očitava apstrakcija jedne solidnije fasade preko puta ulice. Ili možda u ovom slučaju ukazuje na desno od našeg pogleda, možda time ukazujući na Istok, tamo gde se zgrade još uvek grade grubo, od kamena? Ovaj slučaj odraza govori o jedinstvu sa unutrašnje strane stakla, koje je zasnovano na novcu i pragmatizmu. Iznenadenje nije u tome da je EU odabrala fasadu banke kao simbol jedinstva arhitektonskog i monetarnog sistema. Iznenadenje je u nategnutom pragmatizmu ovog izbora, ne samo zbog toga što je stakleno-čelični izgled nastao u SAD, nego zato što se do sada mislilo da je pragmatizam sam po sebi deo američkog nasleđa.

KC: Da li je novi pragmatizam znak tihe Amerikanizacije EU? Konačno iskorišćavanje pragmatizma za sopstvene potrebe, sada kada je i EU osetila moć svog sopstvenog konzervativizma? Šta više, na šta liči spoljašnjost EU tamo gde Buš nije ni "kralj sunca", a ni nevidljivi/nepotrebitni/nestali čuvar zatvora u centru panoptikona? Zahvaljujući širenju nestabilnosti u drugim zemljama sa kojima deli status spoljašnjosti, SAD je otvorio vakuum moći i upravljanja, umesto da odgovorno zauzme spoljašnjost. Da li će SAD jednostavno da bude vođa "divljih" zemalja izvan EU? Ili (u šta više verujem), Buša zaista nije briga za rastuću konkurenciju u vidu konzervativaca i kapitalista iz EU, jer se tako samo povećava broj partnera na tržištu. Neo-liberalizam postaje sve jači i rašireniji. I to ne samo unutar EU, već sve više izvan nje, udvostručen podelama svoje spoljašnjosti. To je onaj pravi američki stil oslobođenja u smislu liberalizacije – naravno, u svom najpragmatičnijem obliku.

SJV: Misleći o oslobođenju, dotičemo se novog carstva dvostrukih standarda kreiranih za različite topografije i različite političke sisteme izvan EU. U svemu tome kao da se pojavljuje novi hibrid koji bi mogao da se nazove "topolitika." Topolitika je hibrid - ponaša se različito u svakoj novoj situaciji. Inflacija identiteta, ličnih i kolektivnih je osobina topolitike: jedan je dva, dva su mnogi, koji se dalje množe. Dok korporacije zavise od slepe upotrebe jednog ili nekoliko strogih brendova, topolitika omogućuje malim grupama i pojedincima da emituju stotine identiteta, i odaju utisak velikih organizacija. Virtuelna veličina omogućuje pristup informacijama sa više strana, pristup znanjima koja su tu oko nas, ali nisu dovoljno iskorišćena.

KC: Iz naše pozicije potpune zavisnosti u ovom primarno neo-liberalnom svetu kopanje po nedovoljno iskorišćenim lekcijama o političkim i društvenim formama može da bude "produktivno." Uzmimo komunizam. Ova vizija na kraju nije imala prostora da se razvije i prerano se odustalo od nje, pre nego što je bilo prilike da se istraži sa zadovoljstvom i/ili produktivnošću.

SJV: Razmišljajući o uslovima koji stvaraju potrebu za topolitikom, uzmimo paralelne primere vladavine novca u Njujorku i nestale vladavine Marksizma u Novom Sadu. Kapitalizam je već počeo da uči od Marksa. Savremena podela profita u liberalnom kapitalizmu namenjena srednjoj klasi, zasniva se na Marksovoj kritici ekonomije. Prilika za "slabu" silu je da pokuša da kapitalizuje na decenijama učenja komunizma kao projekta budućnosti: da kapitalizuje na Marksu.

KC: Ne treba biti nostalgičan, ali naviknuti na kvazi stanje "post-tranzicije" u Srbiji i "post-rata" SAD-a u Iraku ovih suprotnih post-utopija, još uvek stremimo prema neophodnim stvarima da bi zdravo društvo moglo da funkcioniše. "Post" stanje je delom zasnovano na kombinaciji laži i rizika. Da bi izašli iz ćorsokaka pragmatizma, koji na kraju uvek završi kao elastična forma liberalizma, vidimo kako je "post" stanje zamenjeno lažima – bilo da se radi o ratu, tranziciji ili utopiji. To je očigledno plod žudnje koja nas podstiče da i dalje preuzimamo rizike.

SJV: Kako da se zaobiđu rizične laži neo-liberalizma i laži o rizicima nestalog komunizma? Elastičnost topolitike je u tome da ne odbacuje neostvarena obećanja, već da ih reciklira. Zbog toga smo u mogućnosti da neke od njih ponovo promislamo i ponovo odigramo. Na primer, kao što bi bile ekonomske teorije dvojice ne-ekonomista, koji ne bi mogli da budu u većoj suprotnosti: George Bataille i Buckminster Fuller. Batailleva inverzna teorija ekonomije zasniva se na upotrebi i raspodeli otpada u pravom i prenešenom značenju kao i na strategiji rasipništva. Fullerove političke ideje zasnovane su na manipulacijama atlasne geografije radi pre-usmeravanja globalne korporacijske moći u korist društva. Začudo, obe su teorije moguće. Ako bi se ove futurističke ideje iz prošlosti odigrale u savremenom okviru transparentije, tretirane topolitički, mogle bi da rezonuju međusobno i stvore novo polazište za arhitekturu. Topolitička arhitektura bi mogla da iskrnsne kao nova peer-to-peer urbana situacija, gde svako, kao deo mreže proizvodi i deli energiju i informacije. Fuller bi na taj način bio ugrađen u topolitici deobe efekata globalizacije, dok bi Bataille mogao da se iskoristi da bi se raskomadale status-quo političke slike.

KC: Ovaj primer je koristan da se razmisli o tome kako nove pojave samo-organizovanja mogu da se uče od, ali i da istovremeno budu različite od samoupravljanja u Jugoslaviji i od hiper-individualizma u SAD. Primer nam govori o tome kako da se upotrebi sniženje standarda, koje je u nekim sredinama ponekad veoma poželjno. Možda bi već usađeno Marksovo istraživanje i analiza kapitala u kapitalističkoj areni, mogla da baci svoju senku nazad na budućnost onih mesta gde je Marksizam bio dominantan.

SJV: To znači staviti Marksizam na tržište, sa ili bez zarade. Topolitički trik bio bi kako da se kapitalizuje na razmeni niže vrednosti, kao što je Marksizam u poređenju sa, recimo, post-strukturalizmom. Pogledajmo Njujork. Njujork je poznat po uspešnoj prodaji nižih standarda života celom svetu. Novi Sad bi mogao da kapitalizuje na sopstvenim nižim standardima, ako bi uspela prodaja spuštanja standarda državama iz EU, kao servis opuštanja njihovih previsokih normi. Tako je nedavno think-thank grupa iz Roterdama – AMO, pozvana da redizajnira srpski identitet, predložila sličan trik.

KC: Kapitalizacija na nižim standardima nije zasnovana na neispunjenim komunističkim ili kapitalističkim žudnjama. Ona je hibrid novih načina u pristupima svakodnevnom životu. Topolitika hibrida je rezultat svrstavanja, razmene i zamene stvari i tradicija koje nisu dostigle visoku vrednost tokom prethodnih sistema, iz dvostrukih spoljašnosti nove EU, kao što su SAD i Srbija.

SJV: Gledajući iz ugla dvostruke spoljašnjosti, od koje bi da stvorimo jednu, iskušenje je u tome da se razmena odvija u oba smera. Cilj je da se kapitalizuje povećanje broja duplih standarda u istom broju u kom EU stvara duple standarde za insajdere i outsajdere. I Njujork i Novi Sad su spoljašnjost. Njujorška potreba za dominacijom ima mnogo više šanse za uspeh na globalnoj sceni, da se pokaže kao jedini grad na svetu. Ključ za mali grad kao što je Novi Sad, da bi se pojavio na mapi, je da kapitalizuje svoju poziciju na dupliranju standarda koji su u vezi sa žudnjom za pripadanjem EU. Istovremeno, mnogo veći partneri kao što bi bio Njujork, pojavili bi se na mapi u dopadljivijem obliku.

KC: Koje su vrednosti koje istoričari umetnosti i arhitekta mogu da proizvedu, ako bi bili zasnovani na inverziji duplih standarda? Saradnja je uvek bila u senci konkurencije. Projekti društvenog napretka uvek su gubili od strane šema koje su stvarale čisti profit.

SJV: Topolitika bi mogla da preokrene tradicionalno utemeljene standarde kao što je, na primer, konzervativno mišljenje da unutra automatski znači bolje i da jedino ako unutrašnjost može da ima pristupa boljim standardima. Ako se spoljašnjosti spoje u mrežu, igra bi ličila na scenu gde su David i Golijat zajedno na pikniku izvan zapečaćene arene, ne zbog sličnosti, već zbog najizraženijih različitosti. David i Golijat se ne bore, oni veoma dobro vide da ili/ili situacija između topografije i politike ne funkcioniše. Topolitička igra ih spušta na travu, na mekanu i opuštenu platformu.

KC: Tačno tako. Dvostruka spoljašnjost zavisi od novog mesta, koje je, u stvari, treća pozicija. Ona ukazuje na nove vrednosti koje su za razmenu - otvorenu, slobodnu i odgovornu. Moramo težiti ka stanjima koja su ispunjena ovim nabojem.

Katherine Carl je pisac i kurator. Živi u Njujorku. Trenutno radi na doktorskoj tezi na odseku za Istoriju umetnosti i kritiku na Univerzitetu "Stony Brook". Radila je u "Dia Center for the Arts" od 1999. godine, i trenutno predaje na odseku za umetnost njujorskog univerziteta.

Srdan Jovanović Vajs je arhitekta koji živi i radi na relaciji Njujork – Novi Sad. Osnivač je inicijative "Normal Group" koja se bavi interdisciplinarnim pristupom u razmatranju savremene vizuelne kulture, arhitekture, umetnosti i medija.

Topolitics from the Double Outside

Katherine Carl and Srdjan Jovanovic Vajs

SJV: Here we are in front of a new twist of transition and increasing virtuality in relation to new global realignments caused by the enlargement of the EU. This places art history and architecture in an interesting position to look and interpret a new urban condition of the outside of the EU. We are speaking of a realignment of cities that until today would not have much in common. But now, with the EU rambling towards eastern topographies, these nodes that each form their own outside to the EU are suddenly in relation. Take two outside nodes that are so far and so close from this EU ramble like Novi Sad and New York. It is curious that a city so big and a city quite small now seem reasonable to relate.

KC: The enlarging EU: will it reach an outer limit and tear or snap or perforate, or is the EU an elastic universe? You're right, now in relation to this interior constellation, a new outside is about to be formed. This may not necessarily be a conscious repositioning in relation to the EU. Strangely, the US is now outside in this scheme instead of being at the center, where it often likes to think itself. This makes for unlikely bedfellows: what new and unexpected realignments are forming "on the outside?" In American slang, referring to the rest of the world as being "on the outside" makes the EU sound like a prison, although it may be more like a voluntary fortress, or in the American imagination Europe may resemble a luxurious gated community. The US may be surprised to find that in the class hierarchy that is emerging in the EU and with the strengthening of the Euro, it is not only the Balkan that is relegated to the backyard of the EU. The US finds itself there too. Perhaps, it is precisely this, which will have a positive effect of reducing such binary ways of thinking and US insular thinking.

SJV: Well, prisons are definitely pragmatic while voluntary imprisonment is born of desire. The EU knows how to capture others' pragmatic desire for belonging to the union, and link it to the symbol of the mother of the nation states, all the way from Classical Greece to today. However, it falls short of dealing with instability, where we find new intelligence, innovation and tools. Instability represents a threat to the EU, a lowering of the standards of strict rules that are presented as soft and dear. These rules desired for economic stability are to be seen in the images on European currency, which take architecture as a metaphor. Take the 500 Euro bill which promotes a contemporary architectural façade [or the way it should look ideally]. If we take a closer look at the drawing of the façade it refers to the contemporary style that looks more like bank architecture than civic, more like a reflecting glass office building than a public theatre or a museum or a kunsthalle. It looks like it wants to be welcoming, but the access is blocked by the reflection with an apparent abstraction of a more solid façade across the street or in this case to the right from our view, maybe pointing at the east, where the buildings are still crudely built in stone? This example of reflection reveals a unity based on money and pragmatism that lies behind the glass on the inside. Having chosen bank architecture as the unifying architectural style and symbol of the EU monetary system is no surprise. The surprise is the sheer pragmatism of this move, not only because the glass and steel look originated in the US, but also that we thought that pragmatism in general was an American legacy.

KC: Is the new pragmatism a quiet Americanization of the EU? Finally making use of it for its own purposes now that they have a taste of the power of its conservatism? Further, since Bush is neither the sun-king, nor the unseen/unneeded/disappeared prison warden at the center of the panopticon, what does this outside look like? The US, instead of inhabiting this outside position with responsibility, has created a vacuum of power and leadership by seeking to spread instability to other countries with which it shares the outside status. Will the US become simply the ringleader of the rogues outside the EU, or rather, (and I believe more this latter option), does Bush not care about the growing competition from most conservatives and capitalists that the EU provides, because this just makes for more trading partners. Neo-liberalism is becoming more widespread and stronger, now occupying not only the inside but seeing itself doubled on the outside. This is the real American style of liberation as liberalization—at its most pragmatic of course.

SJV: Here with liberation in mind, we touch on a new realm of double standards for different topographies and political systems outside of the EU. In all of them a new hybrid seems to be emerging as something that can be called "topolitics". Topolitics is a hybrid – of always behaving differently in relation to each new situation. In topolitics, individual and collective identities inflate, I am two and two are many, we multiply. While corporations depend on the blind use of one or a few strict brands, topolitics provide small groups and individuals with the opportunity to emit hundreds of identities and give the impression of being a huge organization. This virtual bigness provides access to information that comes from many sides and access to knowledge that is left under-exploited.

KC: Digging out these lessons from our place of ultimate contingency in a primarily neo-liberal world, the under-exploited lessons of the political and social forms could be "productive" in this configuration. Take communism. This vision did not have a place to flourish and was also untimely—hollowed out before given a chance to be investigated with pleasure and/or productivity.

SJV: Thinking of the background for the need of topolitics, take the rule of money in New York and the late rule of Marxism in Novi Sad. Capitalism is already learning from Marx: his economic theories of communal dissemination are now embedded in profit sharing, effective only among the middle and top calibers of capitalism. What can present a chance for a weaker power is simply to try to capitalize on years of learning communism as a future project; capitalize on Marx.

KC: Attuned to the quasi situation of "post-transition" of Serbia and "post-war" of the US in Iraq, without being nostalgic, we still work towards what is necessary for a healthy society in both of these contrasting post-utopias. The "post" situation is based in part on a combination of lies and risks. Seeing the lie of ever attaining the "post" moment or place - whether of war, transition, or utopia - is precisely the desire which drives us to take risks that can lead out of this dead-end pragmatism, which results only in elastic liberalization.

SJV: How to get around the risky lies of neo-liberalism and lies about risks in late communism? The elasticity of topolitics is that it does not dismiss unfulfilled promises, rather it recycles them. This is why it is possible, for example, to re-think and re-perform economic theories conceived by two non-economists who could not be more opposite: George Bataille and Buckminster Fuller. Bataille's inverse theory of economy, to make use of waste and strategies of squander, and Fuller's manipulation of global geography against corporate power to bend it in unexpected ways, now strangely come to mind. In fact, topolitics makes them resonate by re-playing these futuristic ideas, historical by now, in a contemporary field of transparency. Topolitical architecture may be a new peer-to-peer urban situation where everyone in the loop produces and shares energy and information. Fuller is looking at designing geography against capitalism, while Bataille looks at dismembering the image of the political status quo.

KC: This is a useful example for thinking about how new types of self-organizing forms can learn from, but also diverge from, the self-management of Yugoslavia or the hyper-individualism found in the US today. This rings a bell of how to make use of lower standards, which is sometimes very appealing in some places. Perhaps Marx's research and analysis of capital injected into the capitalist arena, in an aoristic move, can project an alternate shadow into the future of places dominated by Marxism in the past.

SJV: That means placing Marxism on the market, making profits or not. The trick is how to find topolitical ways to exchange the lower-valued Marxism when compared to say, post-structuralism. Now let's take a look at New York. New York is already known for success in selling out its lower standards of metropolitan living to the world. This will help to capitalize on lower standards in Novi Sad by selling them to the EU states as a service, as was recently suggested by AMO, a Dutch think-tank group invited to re-design Serbian identity.

KC: This capitalizing on lowered standards is not based on unfulfilled communist promises or capitalist desires, but a hybrid new way of approaching everyday life. This results from the realignment of exchange between the double outsides of the EU, like USA and Serbia, as they swap and share things that were not of value in the previous systemic arrangement.

SJV: Looking from the double outsides that we think of making one, the challenge is to make a two-way exchange, and to capitalize on the proliferation of double standards as much as the EU capitalizes on doubling standards for the insiders and for the outsiders. Here, both New York and Novi Sad are outsides. The former's demand for domination has a far better chance of succeeding on the global scene as the one and only city in the world. The capitalization on the double standard of desire to belong is the key for a small city like Novi Sad to appear big on the map, and inversely for any of the bigger partners to appear likeable.

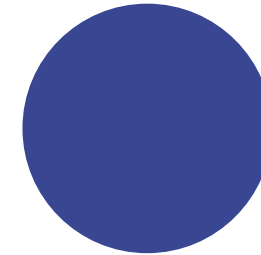
KC: Based on the inversions of double standards, what are the values that architects and art historians can provide? Cooperation has always been the shadow-side of competition. Socially committed projects were always overpowered by profit-making schemes.

SJV: Topolitics can invert the traditionally held standard, more specifically the conservative thinking that being inside is always better and that only by being inside that you have access to the better standard. If the outsides connect, not because of similarities, but because of utmost differences, the game will shift to something like a scene where David and Goliath are on a picnic together outside of a sealed fighting arena. David and Goliath are not fighting, they see very well that being solely topographical or political does not work. Topolitical game puts them down on the grass, on a platform of soft ease.

KC: Right, the double outside's contingency on the new place that is the third, points to a new exchange value, which stays open, free and responsible. We need to pursue instances that are brimming with this potential.

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Slepa mrlja nove kritičke teorije

Beleške o teoriji samo-kolonizacije

Edit Andras

Posvećeno Janošu Harmati

Neslavna teorija samo-kolonizacije Aleksandra Kjosewa (Alexander Kiossev)¹ objavljena je deset godina nakon propasti istočnog bloka. Esej pruža tačan opis metafore u upotrebi: "... samo-kolonizirajuće kulture same uvoze strane vrednosti i civilizacijske modele i sa ljubavlju kolonizuju sopstvenu autentičnost kroz te strane modele" i jasno definiše regione na koje bi se teorija mogla primeniti.

Sa tačke gledišta moderne globalizacije sveta, postoje kulture koje nisu dovoljno centralne, niti dovoljno ovovremene i velike u poređenju sa "Velikim Nacijama". Istovremeno, nedovoljno su udaljene i zaostale, u poređenju sa afričkim plemenima, na primer. Zbog toga se, u svom teskobnom embrionu, negde na periferiji Civilizacije, javljaju u prostoru generativne sumnje: Mi smo Evropljani, mada možda ne u stvarnom smislu.²

Ocrtavajući region koji se ne uklapa u potpunosti u okvir današnjeg post-kolonijalnog diskursa, zbog toga što nije ni kolonizator niti kolonizovani u striktnom značenju reči, nego plovi negde između, Kjosjev upućuje na samu srž osnovne kulturne dileme istočne Evrope, tačnije, post-socijalističkih zemalja. Teško je odupreti se osećaju da nije slučajno da se frustracija koja izvire iz uhvaćenosti između dve ekstremne kategorije, pojavila baš u istočnom delu regiona, koji se danas najčešće naziva istočno-centralnom Evropom, pošto se takozvani centralni deo zdušno bavi svojim definisanjem kao suštinskim delom Evrope, ili barem bližim njoj. Nema sumnje da se stvaranje ovog starog-novog identiteta centralne Evrope hrani euforijom integracije u Evropsku Uniju. Ovaj deo naizgled homogene regije za vreme sovjetske dominacije – barem onako kako je to viđeno spolja – počeo je da se odvaja od ostalih ("pravih" Istočnjaka i Balkana) paralelno sa pregovorima o integraciji, preferirajući naziv Centralna Evropa i stabilizujući se ustanovljavanjem podržavajućih institucionalnih sistema³. Ovaj fenomen, po Lariju Volfu (Larry Wolff), funkcioniše "kao politički projekat na način kako je oduvek funkcionisao: kao moralni apel i prebacivanje upućeno Zapadnoj Evropi."⁴ Javlja se čak i poriv kod "najhrabrijih" da se eliminiše blago razlikovni prefiks "centralna" u korist postajanja samo "Evropskom", ideja koju podstiče sam čin integracije. S jedne strane, to pruža iluziju postajanja ravnopravnim članom zajednice preko noći, što bi rešilo staru dilemu pripadanja odjednom, što naravno ide zajedno sa korisnom kolektivnom amnezijom. S druge strane, postoji veliki strah od cene koja je plaćena: gubitak sopstvenog identiteta, kulturne specifičnosti, i kulturnog nasleđa. Sa najnovijim suprotstavljanjem slavljenju i žaljenjem nad integracijom, vraćaju se u novom obliku stare dobre dileme – univerzalno nasuprot nacionalnom, globalno nasuprot lokalnom, centar nasuprot periferiji – čemu možemo dodati najsavremeniju nomenklaturu: standardizacija nasuprot kulturi sa lokalnim specifičnostima.

Što se tiče umetnosti i istorije umetnosti, izraz "liberalna laž modernizma", koji je uvela Grizelda Polok (Griselda Pollock) u vezi sa ravnopravnim doprinosom žena (za razliku od muškaraca) umetnosti u ime univerzalnih vrednosti⁵, lako bi se mogao preneti na umetnost periferije (za razliku od umetnosti centra) Zapadne umetnosti, odnosno na istočnu Evropu. Modernistički diskurs pružio je okvir u kojem je umetnički rad sa periferije mogao plutati u istom moru umetnosti kao i rad iz centra, ako je uspeo da maskira (tj. transcendirira) svoju povezanost sa rodom i nacijom na odgovarajući način. To je bila igra balansiranja, kao ples na tankom ledu. Iz kritičke pozicije "istorije umetnosti nakon modernizma", evropski predstavnik novog pisanja istorije umetnosti, Hans Belting, osvrćući se unazad govori o ovoj neravnoteži odnosa moći. "Tokom većeg dela dvadesetog veka, Istok i Zapad nisu imali zajedničku istoriju umetnosti ... Obično zanemarujemo do koje mere smo nametnuli zapadnjački pogled na Istok priznavanjem samo zapadnih tradicija i pisanjem istorije umetnosti tako da isključimo istočnu Evropu."⁶ Uprkos ovoj samo-kritičkoj analizi vođenoj osećajem krivice, poglavlje ima srećan kraj, ili tačnije viziju iz snova – koja se uklapa u momenat uvećanja koncepta Evrope – viziju buduće istorije umetnosti, koja će biti pisana "iz dva stanovišta ili, takoreći, sa "dva glasa", nadamo se u skladu"⁷. Kit Moksi (Keith Moxey), američki predstavnik nove istorije umetnosti, veoma svestan post-kolonijalnog stanja i kriterijuma nove kritičke teorije, samo-kritično i samo-refleksivno predlaže sledeće kao način rada u novim kulturnim uslovima:

Kakve bi mogle biti implikacije onoga što sam nazvao post-strukturalnom poetikom istorije za bavljenje istorijom umetnosti istočne Evrope. Kakav značaj bi imala za projekat davanja važnosti prošlosti u ovom delu sveta... na vama je da pokušate da to sami razrešite. Po meni nema sumnje, na primer, da je istorija istočno evropske umetnosti bila u zasenku glavnog narativa Zapada. ... Stvar nije u tome da se pokuša svođenje računa time što će se lokalni događaji dodati ili ubaciti u okvir zapadnog narativa, jer ne postoji način na koji bi jedan skup događaja mogao da se zamisli kao ekvivalentan drugima.⁸

U optimističkoj sredini jedne nove vrste liberalne utopije, još uvek nas proganjaju sumnje i slutnje da bi skidanje maske sa mita modernizma i razotkrivanje njegove hijerarhijske strukture zapravo dovelo do kompenzirane, revidirane istorije umetnosti, koja bi eliminisala staru kontradikciju centra i periferije, za šta je potrebno samo osloniti se na novi kritički diskurs. Drugačije rečeno, u kojoj meri ova u osnovi anglo-saksonska post-strukturalistička teorija omogućava izražavanje iskustava bivših periferija? Uprkos tome što nova teorija tvrdi da je potrebno "uvesti više raznolikosti u diskusiju" – "neku vrstu kakofonije glasova" koja odbacuje hijerarhije – sama teorija je proizvod dekonstrukcije glavnog toka i kanona zapadne umetnosti i teorije. Čak i njene studije slučaja se odnose na kontekst centra, u koji nije uključena "mučiteljska i mučena istorija umetnosti" istočne Evrope (koristeći izraz Hansa Beltinga). Stoga, nova teorija nije savršeno pogodna za dekonstrukciju ovog marginalizovanog dela modernističkog diskursa. Paradigma modernosti organizovana oko čistih ideja stila, sterilnih kategorija, i proizvodnje inovacije i originalnosti nije mogla

da prihvati sve lokalne izraze, varijacije, "prerade", "zakasnele fenomene", pomešane kategorije, i preklapanje fenomena, koji leže izvan poznatih, utabanih staza. Nije lako izbeći zamku kontroverze koja je implicitna kako u modernističkoj univerzalističkoj tvrdnji tako i u njenoj kritici. Iz kritičke pozicije, Hans Belting je protiv adaptiranja zapadnih vrednosti. Pa ipak, navodi da "se privlačnost zapadne kulture na Istoku, gde dugo vremena nije bila pristupačna, pokazuje neodoljivom sve dotle dok ljudi nisu sa njom dovoljno upoznati da bi shvatili kako nedovoljno ispunjava njihova preuveličana očekivanja."⁹ Njegov stav je dvojak: skeptičan prema "zapadnom čudu" iz kritičke pozicije, i istovremeno, paternalistički prema Istoku iz pozicije duboko ukorenjene kontrole. Ne možete a da se ne zapitate kakve su stvarne reference prema kojima umetnost regiona treba da se meri. Mogla bi još uvek da se tretira ovako: "u poređenju sa zapadom, umetnost u istočnoj Evropi gledano unazad uglavnom izgleda zakasnelo u opštem razvoju i na drugom stupnju razvoja što znači da je vršila neku drugačiju društvenu ulogu, dva uslova koja su rezultat istorijskog nedostatka kontakta sa zapadnim modernizmom"¹⁰ - kao eho bezobzirnog stanovišta zapadnog modernizma. Sa stanovišta van tradicionalnih zapadnih granica, mogli bismo apsolutno pozdraviti suptilne analize različitih puteva na koje su krenuli istočni i zapadni modernizam:

Prekinuti uspeh modernizma u zemljama kao što su Rusija, čija je avangarda jednom uzburkala i Zapad, doveli su do pogrešne ideje da se modernizam dogodio samo na zapadu, kao da nije više puta ugušivan u istočnoj Evropi (i kao da se njegov razvoj nije veoma razlikovao od jedne istočno evropske zemlje do druge). U ovom delu sveta, modernizam je vrlo brzo postao nezvanična kultura i stoga mu je, kao underground pokretu, bio uskraćen javni pristup.¹¹

Njegova elaboracija različitog puta kojim je krenuo Istok nastavlja se veoma važnim izjavama, koje udaraju tačno u srž nedavne situacije:

Tamo (na Istoku) gde se nije pridružila permanentnoj krizi modernizma, umetnost – a autor ovog eseja dodao bi i teorija – je ostala u stanju nevinosti takoreći, posebno zbog toga što je mogla lako da se opravda svojim otporom prema zvaničnoj državnoj umetnosti... zvanična i sabverzivna, još uvek je postojalo ubedenje u moć umetnosti, što je odavno nestalo na zapadu... progresivna umetnost, koja je bila odsečena od svakog uticaja na javnost, u međuvremenu je postala zvanična kao što je to jednom bila državna umetnost...

U svom predavanju "Ko se plaši nove paradigme"¹² održanom 2001. godine dalje razrađujem ovaj fenomen. Međutim, s obzirom da potičem iz ovog regiona, ne mogu da delim mišljenje, koje skoro izgleda kao zamišljanje onog što se želi videti u stvarnosti, da je "gubitak modernizma bio traumatičan za zemlje u kojima je služio kao vrata ka evropskoj kulturi"¹³, jednostavno zato što ne vidim gubitak modernizma u regionu. Upravo suprotno, on je skoro isto toliko važeći kao što je bio sa nametnutim bastionima u institucionalnom sistemu¹⁴. U vezi sa kritikom kanona i novom kritičkom teorijom – barem u mađarskom slučaju – definitivno nismo na kraju doba nevinosti jer naša istorija umetnosti je daleko od toga da bude posle modernizma. Dok je promena – koju je Belting tačno uočio – koju je učinio evropski modernizam i po mom mišljenju ključna, uzvratila bih da nas posledice ove "čudno obrnute pozicije" – da upotrebim izraz Ane Semere (Anna Szemere), još uvek proganjaju kao jedna od prepreka u pridruživanju internacionalnom diskursu¹⁵.

Neizbežna teorija "samo-kolonizacije", koja potiče iz okvira post-kolonijalne teorije, rodila se u regionu i ubrzo postala priljučno popularna kao parola, naročito među onim retkima kojima nova teorija nije bila strana¹⁶. Aniko Imre optužuje ovu teoriju zbog simptoma postkolonijalnog nacionalizma, koji se proglašava "dobrim nacionalizmom"¹⁷. Ja ne bih pojednostavljavala ovaj fenomen na puku novu pojavu nacionalizma, tvrdeći da je njena pozicija i implikacija mnogo zapletenija. Bez sumnje teorija je domaće izrade i – koristeći njenu metaforu – predstavlja samo-izlaganje, koje nije nametnuto spolja. Međutim, rekla bih da je zamka u koju upada iskopana u okviru same strukture nove kritičke teorije. Koristim psihanalitički okvir u odnosu na Kjosewa, koji poreklo simptoma samo-kolonizacije vidi u traumi.

To je preduslov za prilično neobičan identitet i prilično neobičnu modernizaciju. Oni se javljaju kroz konstitutivnu traumu: Mi nismo Drugi (videći u Drugima predstavnike Univerzalnog), i ta trauma je takođe povezana sa svesnosti o tome da su se pojavili suviše kasno i da je njihov život rezervoar mana civilizacije.¹⁸

Ja bih radije dodatno pojasnila da su oni kojima je bilo dozvoljeno da pišu istoriju tretirali kulturu regiona na isti način. Međutim, ne možemo uzeti zdravo za gotovo stav koji nam daju istoričari. Rezultat toga je dupli mehanizam, i često ponavljana vizija se internalizovala u populaciji te kulture. Naravno, taj process prati gubljenje osećaja sopstvene vrednosti, i razvoj kompleksa kulturne inferiornosti. U senci ove psihološke konstrukcije vreba skrivena sumnja da je ceo mehanizam stvoren zarad kontrolora. Kao posledica toga, trauma, po mom mišljenju, proizilazi iz nesigurne i nejasne situacije "između" – koja je dobila ime po terminu Stivena Totošija (Stephen Tötösy)¹⁹ "perifernost između". Ona potiče od stalnog premeštanja iz pozicije uključivosti u neuključenost i obratno, ili barem od mentalnog osećaja ovog klatna, a zasigurno ne od jasne pozicije kolonizovanog. Kao što znamo, sve vrste traume plaćaju se dva puta, jer se patnja vraća po drugi put, u najgorem obliku, kroz post-traumatski poremećaj. Ne želim da idem toliko daleko u našem slučaju, ali želim da usmerim našu pažnju na neke prateće efekte traume.

U studijama post-kolonijalizma, pa čak i u svakodnevnoj psihologiji, osnovna je postavka da ljudi koji prežive kolonizaciju ili nasilje pate od nečega što se naziva "mentalnom kolonizacijom". Kada se neka ideologija ili ponašanje koristi da bi tlačila ili oslabila neku etničku ili nacionalnu grupu ili člana porodice, žrtve te ideologije ili ponašanja ga internalizuju i prihvataju kao validno. Ovaj transfer agresije prema drugima može čak da se izokrene i da postane sredstvo daljeg mučenja samog sebe. Viktimologija i studije silovanja pokazuju na osnovu različitih statističkih ispitivanja da se stav "okrivljivanja žrtve" javlja čak i kada je žrtva muško, a pogotovo

kada je žensko²⁰. Kao dalja posledica traume, taj stav uzdrma same osnove poverenja kod subjekta, uključujući poverenje u sebe i druge. Senka sumnje transcendirira kasnije sve odnose. U ranoj fazi takozvanog divljeg kapitalizma nakon političkih promena u Mađarskoj, postojala je velika spremnost da se okrive gubitnici finansijskog i pozicionog restrukturiranja scene. Veliki deo ovog okrivljivanja je poticao od onih koji su mogli uspešno da love u mutnim vodama i koji su želeli da steknu moralnu superiornost. Konačno, postali su nouveau rich i moćni preko noći. Efikasno psihološko sredstvo "okrivljivanja žrtve" dobro je poslužilo da sakrije moralne dileme i osećanje krivice. Ako sistem okrivljuje žrtvu, nema potrebe za daljim preispitivanjima i analizama. I to čak nije kraj. Strategije samo-okrivljivanja kod žrtava seksualnog zlostavljanja, kao proces savladivanja posledica silovanja, dobro su poznate u psihologiji²¹. Po mom mišljenju, upravo taj process sebe imitira u teoriji samo-kolonizacije. Žrtva traume ne može da otrese ograničenje samo-okrivljivanja i ide čak do toga da prihvata odgovornost za situaciju. Kolonijalizam, ili bilo kakva pozicija kontrole – svesno ili ne – strukturno i politički zavisi od tvrdnje o jasnim razlikama između kontrolora i kontrolisanog. Teorija samo-kolonijalizma služi upravo to razlikovanje na srebrnom pladnju i mogla bi biti najprikladnija fantazija dominantnih teoretičara današnjice. Ili, drugim rečima, ona pada u zamku nove kritičke teorije. Ova strategija nudi politiku zakopavanja glave u pesak i ukida svaku mogućnost da se uđe u diskurs i da se prema njemu subverzivno deluje. Dajući novu snagu metafori traume, teorija samo-kolonizacije zapravo udvostručava traumu time što esencijalizuje i fiksira binarnu opoziciju, zatvarajući vrata izniansiranijoj kritici i analizama. Istovremeno, ona pojačava stare stereotipe o regionu: kulture koje su samo-destruktivne i mazohističke, kojima bol i patnja pružaju zadovoljstvo²². Moj predlog je da ovaj esencijalizujući dvostruki sistem treba da se promeni zajedno sa eliminacijom starih stereotipa. Veoma mi je stalo da se ode dalje od dihotomije između žrtve i počinioca.

Ne želim da govorim protiv nove kritičke teorije, jer sam svesna kraja teorijske nevinosti. Okvir modernizma ostavlja vrlo ograničenu mobilnost mapiranju terena za stanje "između", ili za one na marginama dominantne kategorije. Međutim, treba da shvatimo da se do danas nova kritička teorija, a pogotovo njena diskurzivna praksa²³ osećala najudobnije tamo gde je postkolonijalna dinamika moći između centra i periferije najbližnja ranijoj dinamici moći, uprkos tome što objavljuje da je takva opozicija eliminisana, i što umesto toga nudi mnogo lokalnih centara. Prema ovoj poziciji između, nije toliko u pitanju mapiranje zavisnosti, već pre mapiranje neznanja, takoreći, i strepnje da se ne uđe u slepu mrlju novog diskursa i ostatka neravnoteže odnosa moći. Postoji hitna potreba da se ta slepa mrlja učini vidljivom, jer će još više biti zamagljena fizičkim činom i psihološkom iluzijom integracije. Postoji još jedan postkolonijalni odnos koji treba uočiti i proučiti: veza između nacija bivše periferije, čiju solidarnost u velikoj meri kvari selektivni sistem Evropske Unije, koji daje privilegije pristupa ili ih odriče. Psihološka cena koju plaćaju novi insajderi je gubitak solidarnosti i osećaja zajedničkog iskustva sa onima koji ostaju napolju.



Zsolt Keserue, Standard, video spot, 2003

¹ Alexander Kiossev (1999). Notes on Self-colonising Cultures. In B. Pejic, D. Elliott (ed.) Art and Culture in post-Communist Europe. Stockholm: Moderna Museet. pp. 114-118.

² Ibid. p. 114.

³ Vidi Centralno-evropski univerzitet (CEU), Budimpešta; časopisi kao što su CENTROPA koja se izdaje u Njujorku; Centralno-evropski kulturni institut, Budimpešta, i njegov časopis European Traveller koji se izdaje u Budimpešti; Praesens. Central European Contemporary Art Review, koji se izdaje u Budimpešti, itd.

⁴ Larry Wolff (1994). Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization in the mind of the enlightenment. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. p. 156.

⁵ Griselda Pollock (1996). Inscription in the Feminine. In M. C. de Zegher (ed.) Inside the visible: an elliptical traverse of twentieth century in, of, and from the feminine. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

⁶ Hans Belting (2003). Art History after Modernism. Chicago: Chicago Press. p. 54.

⁷ Ibid. p.61.

⁸ Predavanje Kita Moksija "Istorija umetnosti danas: problemi i mogućnosti" održano je na Centralno-evropskom univerzitetu u Budimpešti, na kursu letnje škole univerziteta "Istorija i teorija umetnosti nakon kulturnog preokreta" (director kursa: Margaret Dikovitsky), Budimpešta 2001.

⁹ Belting op. cit. p.56.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 57-58.

¹¹ Ibid. p.54

¹² Koncept je prvo razvijen u: Edit Andrés (1999) „Exclusion and Inclusion in the Art World”. In: MoneyNations Magazine. The Correspondent. Zürich: Shedhalle. pp. 51. - 52. pp. Dalji razvoj: Edit Andrés (2003), Who is afraid of a new paradigm? The old practice of art criticism of the East versus the new critical theory of the West. Vienna: Selene p. 96 – 104.

¹³ Belting op. cit. p. 54

¹⁴ Ágnes Berecz (2003), „The Hungarian patient: Comments on the Contemporary Hungarian Art of the 90s”. Artmargins online, www.artmargins.com

¹⁵ Anna Szemere (2001), “Western influence and the discursive construction of postmodernity in the cultural debates of postsocialist Eastern Europe”. Rad predstavljen na 27^{om} susretu Društvene teorije, politike i umetnosti. Golden Gate University, San Francisco

¹⁶ Sándor Hornyik (2003), „Art historian on the Post-Comecom market”. Praesens No. 1. pp.24-29; Katalin Timár (2002), „Is your Pop our Pop? The history of art as a self-colonizing tool”. Artmargins online; Lara Boubnova (2000), „From defects to effects. self-colonization as an alternative concept to national isolationism”. European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies. <http://www.eipcp.net/diskurs/d01/text/ib01.htm>

¹⁷ Anikó Imre (2001), „Gender, Literature, and Film in Contemporary East Central European Culture”. Ch. 3. CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture: P A WWWeb Journal <http://www.clcwebjournal.lib.purdue.edu>

¹⁸ Kiossev op. cit. p. 114.

¹⁹ Imre op.cit. Ch. 3.

²⁰ Patrick C. L. Heaven, John Connors, Annelie Pretorius (1998), “Victim characteristics and attribution of rape blame in Australia and South Africa”. The Journal of Social Psychology 138. pp. 131-3

²¹ Gulotta, G. and de Cataldo Neuberger, L. (1983) A systematic and attributional approach to victimology. Victimology, 8, pp. 5-16.

²² Vidi: Rancour-Laferriere, Daniel (1995), The slave soul of Russia : moral masochism and the cult of suffering. New York : New York University Press

²³ György Csepeli, Antal Órkény, and Kim Lane Scheppele (1996) „The Colonization of East European Social Science,” Social Science 63.2. pp. 487-510; vidi takodje: Andrés op. cit.

Blind Spot of the New Critical Theory

Notes on the Theory of Self-colonization

Dedicated to János Harmatta
Edit András

Alexander Kiossev's infamous theory of self-colonization was published ten years after the collapse of the Eastern Block. The essay provides a fair description of the metaphor in use, as: "[...] self-colonizing cultures import alien values and models of civilization by themselves and that they lovingly colonize their own authenticity through these foreign models," and clearly defines the regions to which the theory could be applied.

From the point of view of the modern globalisation of the world, there are cultures which are not central enough, not timely and big enough in comparison to the 'Great Nations'. At the same time they are insufficiently distant, and insufficiently backward, in contrast to the African tribes, for example. That's why, in their own troubled embryo, somewhere in the periphery of Civilisation, they arise in the space of a generative doubt: We are Europeans, although perhaps not to a real extent

In outlining a region which doesn't fit properly in the framework of today's postcolonial discourse, being neither colonizer, nor colonized in the strict meaning of the words, but navigating somewhere in between, he points to the very heart of the main cultural dilemma of Eastern-Europe, more accurately, of the Post- socialist countries. One cannot resist the feeling that it is hardly accidental, that the frustration raised from being trapped into two extreme categories, popped up in the Eastern part of the region, which nowadays most commonly named Eastern-Central Europe, since the so-called Central part is very busy defining itself as being essentially part of Europe, or at least closer to it. No doubt, this old-new identity construction of the latter is fueled by the euphoria of integration into the European Union. This latter part of the seemingly homogeneous region in the time of Soviet dominance - at least as it was seen as such from the outside - started to separate itself from the others (the "real" Easterners and from the Balkans) parallel to the negotiation for integration, preferring the name Central Europe and stabilizing itself by establishing supportive institutional systems. The phenomenon, according to Larry Wolff, operates "as a political project in the way it always had: as a moral appeal and reproach addressed to Western Europe." There is even an urge from the "bravest" to get rid of the mildly differentiating prefix "central" in favor of just being "European," a notion encouraged by the simple act of integration. On one hand, it provides the illusion of becoming an equal member of the community overnight, which would resolve the old dilemma of belonging immediately, which goes - of course - hand-in-hand with helpful collective amnesia. On the other hand, there is a strong fear of the price that has been paid: losing our own identity, cultural specificity, and cultural heritage. With the most current opposition of laudation and lamentation over integration, the good old dilemmas - universal versus national, global versus local, center versus periphery - are back again in a new form, to which we can add the most up-to date nomenclature: standardization versus culture with local specificities.

Concerning art and art history, the phrase "liberal lie of modernism", which was coined by Griselda Pollock regarding the women's (as opposed to men's) equal contribution to art in the name of universal values, could easily be transferred to the art of periphery (as opposed to the center) of Western art, namely to Eastern Europe. The modernist discourse provided a framework in which an artwork from the periphery could have been floating in the same sea of art as an artwork from the center, if it was able to mask (i.e. transcend) properly its gender and nation relatedness. This was a game of balancing, like dancing on thin ice. From the critical position of "art history after modernism," the European agent of the new art history writing, Hans Belting, gives voice retrospectively to this imbalanced power relation. "For the greater part of the twentieth century, East and West had no shared art history [...] We usually ignore the degree to which we have imposed a Western view on the East by recognizing only Western traditions and by writing art history such as to exclude Eastern Europe". Despite the guilt-driven self-critical analyses, the chapter has a happy ending, or rather, a dream-vision - fitting to the moment of enlargement of the concept of Europe - of the art history of the future, which would be written "from two points of view or, so to speak, with 'two voices' hopefully in harmony." Keith Moxey, an American agent of the new art history, very much aware of the post-colonial condition and of the criteria of the new critical theory, being self-critical and self-reflected, proposes the following for operating within the new cultural conditions. "

What might the implications of what I have called a poststructuralist poetics of history have for the conduct of art history in Eastern Europe. What relevance would it have for the project of giving significance to the past in this part of the world. ... [!]It is up to you to try to think this through for yourselves. There is no doubt in my mind, for example, that the history of Eastern European art has suffered from the shadow of the master narrative of the West. [...] The point is not necessarily to attempt to set the record straight by adding or inserting local events into the framework of the western narrative, for there is no way in which one set of events can be conceived of as equivalent to the others.

In the optimistic midst of a new kind of liberal utopia, one is still haunted by the suspicions and doubts as to whether unmasking the myth of modernism and uncovering the hierarchical structure of it would actually result in a compensated, revised art history, eliminating the old contradiction of the center and the periphery, for which one has to only rely on the new critical discourse. To put it differently, to what extent does the basically Anglo-Saxon poststructuralist theory enable the articulation of the experiences of former peripheries? Even though the new theory claims the need to "bring more diversity to the discussion" - a "kind of cacophony of voices" rejecting hierarchies - the theory itself is a product of deconstructing the mainstream and canon of Western art and theory. Even its case studies refer to the context of the center, in which the "torturous and tortured art history" of Eastern Europe (using Hans Belting's expression), has not been included. Thus, the new theory is not a perfect fit for the deconstruction of this

marginalized part of modernist discourse. The paradigm of modernism organized around pure notions of style, sterile categories, and the production of innovation and originality could not accommodate all the local expressions, variations, "reworkings," "belated phenomena," mixed categories, and overlapping phenomena which lie beyond the known, well-trodden paths. It is not easy to avoid the pitfall of the controversy implicit both in modernism's universalistic claim and even in its criticism. From a critical position, Hans Belting is against adapting Western values. Yet he states, that "The attraction of Western culture in the East, where for a long time it was inaccessible, proves irresistible, as long as people are not enough acquainted with it to realize how poorly it fulfills their overblown expectations." His attitude is twofold: being skeptical with the "western wonder" from a critical position and, at the same time, being paternal to the East from a deep-seeded control position. One just wonders, what the real reference is against which the region's art is to be measured. It could still be treated as "Compared with the West, art in Eastern Europe in retrospect mostly appears retarded in the general development and at another stage of development which means that it was performing a different social role, two conditions that result from its historical lack of contact with Western modernism" - echoing the neglecting standing point of western modernism. From outside of the traditional Western boundaries, one could absolutely salute the subtle analyses of the different paths taken by Eastern and Western modernisms:

The interrupted success of modernism in countries like Russia, whose avant-garde once had also stirred up the West, gave rise to the erroneous idea that modernism had taken place only in the West, as if it had not repeatedly been suppressed in Eastern Europe (and as if its development had not greatly differed from one Eastern European country to another). In this part of the world, modernism, soon had become an unofficial culture and, as an underground movement, was therefore denied public access.

His elaboration of the different path, taken by the East continues with very important statements, striking right into the heart of the recent situation:

Where [in the East] it did not join the permanent crisis of modernism, art - the author of this present essay would add to that theory - remained in a state of innocence, as it were, especially since it could easily justify itself by its resistance to official state art ... official and subversive, there was still conviction in the power of art, something that had vanished long before in the West [...] Progressive art, which was cut off from any public impact, in the meanwhile has become as official as state art once was [...]

I further elaborate on this phenomenon in my lecture "Who is afraid of a new paradigm" delivered in 2001. However, coming from the region, I cannot share the opinion, which almost seems as wishful thinking, that "the loss of modernism was traumatic for countries for which it had served as the door to European culture", simply because I don't see the loss of modernism in the region. On the contrary, it is almost as valid as it was with the enforced bastions in the institutional system. Regarding the criticism of the canon and the new critical theory - at least in the Hungarian case- we are definitely not at the end of the age of innocence, as our art history is far from being after modernism. While the shift - detected precisely by Belting - made by Eastern modernism is crucial in my view as well, I would counter, that the consequences of this "oddly reversed position"- using Anna Szemere's phrase, is still haunting us as one of the obstacles towards joining international discourse.

An unavoidable theory of "self-colonization," emerging from the framework of post-colonial theory, was born in the region, and soon became quite popular as a catchphrase, especially among those few for whom the new theory was not alien. Aniko Imre accuses this theory of symptoms of postcolonial nationalism, which claims itself to be "good nationalism." I myself wouldn't simplify the phenomenon to be a mere new appearance of nationalism, claiming that the position and implication of it is much trickier. No question about it that the theory is homemade and - using a metaphor of its own - is a self-exposure, which was not forced from the outside. However, I would propose that the pitfall it falls into, is dug within the very structure of the new critical theory. I would use a psychoanalytical framework, with respect to Kiossev, who sees the origins of the symptoms of self-colonization in a trauma.

This is the precondition for a quite peculiar identity and a quite peculiar modernization. They arise through the constitutive trauma that: We are not Others (seeing in the Others the representatives of the Universal), and this trauma is also connected with the awareness that they have appeared too late and that their life is a reservoir of the shortcomings of civilization.

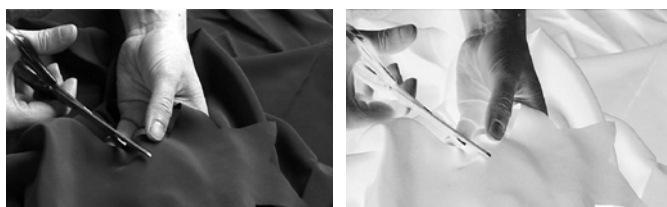
I would rather additionally clarify, that those who were allowed to write history have treated the culture of the region in this way. However, we can't take for granted the view that historians give us. The result is a double mechanism, and the oft repeated vision has been internalized by the population of that culture. Of course, the process is followed by of lowering self-esteem, and the development of a cultural inferiority complex. In the shadow of this psychological construction, looms a hidden suspicion that believes the whole mechanism is generated for the sake of the controllers. Consequently, the trauma, in my view, emerges from this uncertain and opaque position of "in betweenness," - named after Stephan Tötösy's "in between peripherality." . It comes from the constant shift of being included or excluded, or, at least, from the mental sensation of this pendulum, and definitely not from a clear-cut position of the colonized. As we know, all kinds of trauma make one pay twice for the suffering, wherein post-traumatic disorder, at its worst, is the second turn. I don't want to go so far in our case, but wish to direct our attention to some side effects of the trauma.

In post-colonial studies, and even in everyday psychology, it is a basic tenet that people who experience colonization or violence suffer from what is known as "mental colonization." When an ideology or behavior is used to oppress or weaken an ethnic or national group or a family member, the behavior is internalized by the victims of that ideology or behavior, and is accepted as valid. This transfer of aggression towards others could be even turned backwards, becoming a tool of further self-torturing.

Victimology and rape studies demonstrate through different statistical polls, that one can encounter the “blame the victim” attitude even if the victim is male, let alone if the victim is female. As a further consequence of the trauma, this attitude shakes the very trusting foundations of the subject, including trust in the self and trust in the others. The shadow of suspiciousness transcends all relations afterwards. In the early phase of the, so-called wild capitalism after the political changes in Hungary, there was a great willingness to blame the losers of the financial and positional restructuring of the scene. Much of this blame came from those who were able to successfully fish in troubled waters, and wanted eagerly to possess moral superiority. Eventually they became nouveau rich and powerful overnight. The effective psychological tool of “blaming the victim” served well to cover moral dilemmas and feelings of guilt. If the system blames the victim, there is no need for further questioning or analyses. And this is not even the end. Self-blaming strategies as a coping process for sexual assault victims in the aftermath of rape, is well-known within psychology. In my view, precisely this process is imitating itself in the theory of self-colonization. The victim of trauma cannot shake the limits of self-blame, and goes so far as to accept responsibility for the situation. Colonialism, or any kind of controlling position - consciously or not - depends structurally and politically on the assertion of clear differences between the controller and the controlled. The theory of self-colonialism serves exactly this differentiation on a silver platter, and could be the best-fit fantasy of today’s dominant theorists. Or, put differently, it falls into the pitfall of the new critical theory. This strategy offers a policy of burying one’s head into the sand, and cuts off any possibility for entering the discourse and subverting it. Rallying the metaphor of trauma, self-colonization theory actually doubles the trauma by essentialising and fixing the binary opposition, closing the door at the more nuanced critique and analyses. At the same time, it reinforces the old stereotypes of the region: cultures which are self-destructive and masochistic, deriving pleasure from pain and suffering. I am proposing that this essentialising dual system should be altered along with eliminating old stereotypes. I am very concerned to get beyond the victim/agent dichotomy.

I do not want to speak against the new critical theory, since I am aware of the end of theoretical innocence. The framework of modernism leaves very limited mobility for mapping the terrain given for the “in-betweenness”, or for those on the margins of a dominant category. However, we should realize, that to this day, new critical theory, let alone its discursive practice, remains most comfortable where the postcolonial power dynamic between the center and the periphery most closely resembles the former power dynamic. Even though it declares the elimination of such opposition, offering instead many local centers. According to this in-between position, not so much mapping dependency is at stake, but rather mapping ignorance, so to speak, and the anxiety of getting into the blind spot of the new discourse and the remnant of imbalanced power relations. There is an urgent need to make this spot visible, since it will be further obscured by the physical act and psychological illusion of integration. There is another postcolonial relationship that should be noticed and studied: the connection between nations of the former periphery, whose solidarity is greatly corrupted by the selective system of the European Union, which either grants privileges of access, or denies it. The psychological price paid by the new insiders, is the loss of any solidarity and sensation of common experiences with those who remain outside.

A special thanks goes to my dear friend, Barbara Dean for her assistance in editing the English version.



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Politika prostora

Nina Czegledy

Polje proksemike – nauke o korišćenju prostora kao aspekta kulture – ustanovio je šezdesetih godina prošlog veka antropolog Edvard T. Hol (Edward T. Hall). On je uočio da ljudi iz različitih kultura, ne samo da govore različitim jezicima već, što je možda još važnije, različito strukturiraju i doživljavaju prostor, te stoga nastanjuju jasno različite senzorne svetove (Hall, 1966). Kompleksnost proksemike, koja se uglavnom formira van naše svesti, obuhvata fizičku distancu koju održavamo u susretima sa drugima. U knjizi o prostornoj percepciji pod nazivom «Skrivena dimenzija», Hol detaljno opisuje proksemiku, dajući klasifikaciju širokog raspona, od intimnih i ličnih do javnih prostora. Čini se da se u tranziciji od intimnih do javnih prostora dešava nekoliko važnih senzornih promena, koje su kulturno uslovljene i arbitrarne. Interesantno je napomenuti da je Hol još pre tri dekade uočio da su se društvene razdaljine modifikovale usled upotrebe komunikacijskih i vizuelnih sredstava. Shodno tome su se pojmovi “privatnog” ili “ličnog” prostora, kako smo ih ranije znali, promenili. Danas se ove promene jasno vide u našem svakodnevnom životu, u intimnoj a ipak javnoj upotrebi mobilnih telefona i drugim oblicima komunikacije elektronskim putem.

Trideset godina nakon što je Hol objavio svoje studije o proksemici, javlja se obnovljeno interesovanje za pitanja prostora u raznim društvenim naukama. Antropolozi su pokrenuli promenu paradigme kako bi u prvi plan postavili prostorne dimenzije kulture nasuprot drugim razmatranjima. Obimne studije ličnog i javnog teritorijalnog ponašanja pružile su nova objašnjenja u vezi sa prostornom percepcijom van domena ličnih i kolektivnih prostornih razmatranja. Zahvaljujući brzom napretku globalizacije i njenim posledicama, pojava takozvanog globalnog, transnacionalnog i translokalnog prostora privukla je posebnu pažnju. Globalni i transnacionalni prostor u ovom kontekstu zamišljen je kao prostor koji omogućava slobodan protok ideja i roba, ljudi i usluga, kapitala i tehnologije, što doprinosi preispitivanju države-nacije kao teritorije ili prostornog entiteta. Kao posledica toga, pojam globalnog prostora čvrsto je povezan sa ekonomskom transformacijom, dok kulturna globalizacija, koja uključuje određene oblike migracije, vodi ka pojavi translokalnog prostora. Primećeno je da brza pokretljivost specijalizovanih, stalno mobilnih radnika, tehnologija i birokrata često doprinosi pretvaranju nekih gradova (ili mesta) u translokalitete, odvojene od svog nacionalnog konteksta. Rezultat toga je da aspekti migracije i njen odnos prema stalno promenljivim kartografijama predstavlja novi izazov u smislu prostora i teritorijalne vezanosti.

Studije dijaspore, izbeglica i izmeštenih osoba poklanjaju novu pažnju teritorijalnim aspektima identiteta, naročito zbog toga što istraživanja prostora kao mesta sukoba otkrivaju snažne veze između značenja mesta i identiteta. Iako je kapital postao pokretljiviji i time u određenoj meri besprostan, na drugim mestima je postao teritorijalniji kao rezultat nejednačnog razvoja. Manuel Kastels (Castells) opisuje ovu transmudaciju u svojoj analizi dvostrukog grada, u kojem “prostor tokova” zamenjuje lokalno značenje mesta (1989). Polje na kojem se vode diskursi prostornih identiteta i politika prostora je široko, te marginalizovane grupe mogu da ospore i zaista osporavaju legitimitet stereotipa. Sporno je da li teritorijalni identitet može biti važniji za državni aparat nego za pojedinca pošto su mnoge grupe (i pojedinci) već razvile ne-državne oblike organizacija, interesnih grupa i transnacionalnih privrženosti. Arjun Appadurai, pišući o translokalnim prostorima i mobilnoj suverenosti, navodi da “privrženost često navodi pojedince da se identifikuju sa transnacionalnim kartografijama, dok ih privlačnost državljanstva vezuje za teritorijalne države. Ova mesta razdvajanja pokazuju da je teritorija, koja je nekada bila zdravorazumsko opravdanje legitimiteta države-nacije, sada postala ključno mesto krize suverenosti u transnacionalnom svetu” (Appadurai 2001).

U određenom smislu koncept “nacije” je zamišljena stvar. Stoga se tvrdi da će nas, ne samo praktične stvari već i imaginacija, preneti dalje od koncepta države-nacije ka ozbiljnom razmatranju alternativnih ideja uključujući i pojam transnacionalnog prostora. U međuvremenu, teritorijalni nacionalizam je u porastu i nacionalne granice sa naizgled slobodnim tokom ljudi (i roba) mogu se smatrati propustljivima za jedne, ali ostaju kontrolisane za druge. Potvrđeno je da transnacionalna ekonomija sa jedne strane podržava samosvojne lokalitete, dok istovremeno prostorni oblici koji se sada pojavljuju pojačavaju značaj homogenizovanih prostora kao što su fleksibilni kapital, kretanje radne snage, globalni informacioni grad i prostorne mreže. Kao rezultat toga, proces kulturne globalizacije restruktuirava svakodnevne živote, upravlja mobilnošću i stvara nove transnacionalne prostore. Kritično prostorno pitanje u globalnim debatama jeste deteritorijalizacija mesta rada i zajednice kao nusproizvoda ekonomskog restrukturiranja (Sasken 1991).

Akhil Gupta u svojoj analizi transnacionalnih identiteta (2001) tvrdi da su “menjajuća globalna konfiguracija post-kolonijalnosti i pozni kapitalizam doveli do novog pregrađivanja i upisivanja prostora”. On dalje sugerše da ovaj razvoj ima snažne posledice za koncept imaginarnih domovina i/ili zajednica, koje su u procesu tekuće transformacije zadobile nov značaj. Gupta u svojoj analizi poredi Pokret nesvrstanih sa Evropskom zajednicom. On tvrdi da zajedničke osobine koje povezuju razvoj imaginarnih transnacionalnih zajednica često zahtevaju sisteme i ikone slične onima koje čine nacionalizam – kao što su zastave, ustavi, slabljenje trgovinskih barijera, ukidanje viza, državna birokratija i sistem političke reprezentacije.

Detaljna istorija Pokreta nesvrstanih je van okvira ovog teksta.

Dovoljno je reći da počeci ove grupe potiču od sastanka 1955-te u Indoneziji, na kojem je učestvovalo 29 nacija. Sastanak Nehrua, Tita i Nasera 1956-te na Brionima u Jugoslaviji, označio je korak dalje. Zvaničan početak Pokreta nesvrstanih usledio je 1961-ve na Prvom samitu nesvrstanih održanom u Beogradu. Od samog početka određeni nesklad između proklamovanih ciljeva Pokreta (suprotstavljanje neo-kolonijalizmu, imperijalizmu i rasizmu) i političkih realnosti rodio je stalnu kontroverzu. “Pesma nesvrstanih sveta”, album izdat 1987-me u Beogradu, na čijem omotu se nalaze fotografije vođa 25 nacija koje su učestvovala na samitu 1961-ve, pruža interesantan ključ za razumevanje jednog dela retorike povezane sa Pokretom. Tekst prve strofe je sledeći:

Sa Briona nada stiže ljudskom rodu
Nada i pravda za sve ljude kao jednu vrstu
Tito, Nehru, Naser dali su našem umu mir
Kad su izgradili Pokret nesvrstanih
(Višekruna 1987).

U okviru Evropske zajednice (o kojoj ovde diskutujem samo u odnosu na ovo poređenje), slabljenje trgovinskih barijera, putovanje bez viza, trans-evropska birokratija, slobodno kretanje radne snage i zajednička valuta nalikuju na homogenizovanu, preoblikovanu državu, pa ipak karakter pojedinačnih država se nekako održava. Pitanje ostaje: kako će se u ovom novom prostoru postići sličnost jednakosti? Kako će se kulturne razlike, koje su tokom istorije ugrađene u nacionalne tradicije, uskladiti kada se jednom stare granice izgube, čak ukinu? Hoće li nacije kako ih danas poznajemo predstavljati hegemonijski oblik prostorne organizacije u post-modernom svetu? Dok Evropska zajednica sada gleda unazad na decenije uspeha, dajući vremenski okvir za rešavanje važnih pitanja – tekući proces uvećanja ponovo uvodi ova razmatranja u fokus.

Poredeći dostignuća Evropske zajednice sa postignućima Pokreta nesvrstanih, Gupta zaključuje da Pokret nesvrstanih nije uspeo da ostvari "iste veze solidarnosti koje povezuju narode, lokacije i prostore koje je Evropska zajednica uspeła da stvori". Stoga preoblikovanje prostora u kontekstu EU može voditi ka konačnom razvoju alternativne hegemonijske formacije prostora, u kojem su kulturno različiti senzorni svetovi, uključujući translokálnost, bolje usklađeni.



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Politics of Space

Nina Czegledy

The field of proxemics -the study of people's use of space as an aspect of culture- was established in the nineteen sixties by the anthropologist Edward T. Hall. He observed that people from different cultures not only speak different languages but what is possibly more important, they structure and experience space differently and as a consequence inhabit distinctly different sensory worlds (Hall, 1966). The complexity of proxemics, mostly formed outside our awareness, includes the physical distances maintained in our encounters with others. In his book on spatial perception entitled "The hidden dimension", Hall described proxemics in detail, providing a wide range of classification from the intimate and personal to public spaces. It seems that several important sensory shifts take place in the transition from intimate to public spaces, shifts that are culturally conditioned and arbitrary. It is of interest to note that Hall observed as early as three decades ago that social distances have been modified by the use of communication and visualization devices. Correspondingly the notions of "private" or "public" space as we have formerly known it, have altered. Today these changes are readily observable in our everyday life, by the intimate yet public use of mobile phones and other forms of electronically facilitated communication.

Thirty years after Hall published his studies on proxemics, renewed interest has been shown in issues of space across the social sciences. Anthropologists set in motion a paradigm shift to foreground the spatial dimensions of culture in contrast to other considerations. Extensive studies in personal and public territorial behaviour provided new clues concerning spatial perception beyond personal and collective space considerations. Due to the rapid progress of globalization and its consequences, the emergence of so-called global, transnational and translocal space attracted special attention. Global and transnational space in this context is conceived as a space allowing the free flow of ideas and goods, people and services, capital and technology contributing to the reconsideration of the nation state as a territory or spatial entity. Consequently the notion of global space is closely linked to economic transformation while cultural globalization including particular forms of migration lead to the emergence of translocal space. It has been observed that the rapid mobility of specialized, permanently mobile workers, technologists and bureaucrats often contributed to the conversion of some cities (or places) into translocalities, detached from their national context. As a result aspects of migration and its relationship to the ever-changing cartographies present new challenges in terms of space and territorial affiliation.

Diaspora and refugee studies of the displaced focused renewed attention on territorializing aspects of identity especially as investigations of contested spaces reveal strong connections between the meaning of place and identity. Although capital has become more mobile and thus placeless to some extent, it has become more territorial in other places as a result of uneven development. Manuel Castells describes this transmutation in his analysis of a dual city, one in which the "space of flows" supersedes the local meaning of places. (1989). The ground is broad where the discourse of spatial identities and the politics of space have been conducted, consequently marginalized groups can and do contest the legitimacy of stereotypes. Debatably, territorial identity can be more important for a state apparatus than the individual as many groups (and individuals) have already evolved non-state forms of organizations, interest groups and transnational loyalties. Arjun Appadurai, writing on translocal spaces and mobile sovereignty, proposed that "loyalty often leads individuals to identify with transnational cartographies, while the appeals of citizenship attach them to territorial states. These disjunctures indicate that territory, once a common-sense justification for the legitimacy of the nation-state, has become the key site of the crisis of sovereignty in a transnational world" (Appadurai 2001).

In a certain sense the concept of a "nation" is an imagined thing. Consequently it has been argued that in addition to practicalities, imagination will transport us beyond the concept of the nation state to serious consideration of alternate ideas including the notion of transnational space. In the meantime territorial nationalism is on the rise and national borders in a seemingly free stream of people (and commodities) might be considered permeable to some, but remain controlled to others. It has been acknowledged that transnational economy on one hand supports distinct locales, at the same time the currently emerging spatial forms underscore the significance of homogenized spaces such as flexible capital, movement of labor, the global informational city and spatial networks. As a result the process of cultural globalization restructures every day lives, guides mobility and creates new translocal spaces. The critical spatial issue in global debates is the deterritorialization of places of work and community as a by-product of economical restructuring (Sasken 1991).

Akhil Gupta in his analysis on transnational identities (2001) argued that "the changing global configuration of postcoloniality and late capitalism have resulted in repartitioning and reinscription of space." He further suggested that this evolution had strong ramifications for the concept of imaginary homelands and/or communities that in the course of current transformations gained new relevance. Gupta compared in this analysis the Non Aligned Movement and the European Community. He proposed that common features linking together the development of imagined transnational communities often require systems and icons similar to those, which constitute nationalism - such as flags, constitutions, relaxation of trade barriers, elimination of visas, state bureaucracy and a system of political representation.

The detailed history of the Non Aligned Movement is outside the scope of this text.

Suffice to say that the beginnings of this group originate from a meeting in 1955 in Indonesia with the participation of 29 nations. A meeting between Nehru, Tito and Nasser, in 1956 in Brioni, Yugoslavia marked a further advance. The formal launch of the Non-Aligned Movement followed in 1961 at the First Nonaligned Summit held in Belgrade. From its very beginning certain discrepancies between the proclaimed aims (opposition to neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism) and the Movement and political realities have spawned ongoing controversy. The "Song of the Non-Aligned World", an album released in 1987 in Belgrade,

featuring on the cover the photos of the Leaders of 25 nations, participating in the 1961 Summit, provides an interesting clue to some of the rhetoric connected to the Movement. The lyrics of the first stanza are as follows:

From Brioni hope has come to mankind
Hope and justice for all men as one kind
Tito, Nehru, Nasser gave us peace of mind
When they built the movement of the Non-Aligned
(Visekruna 1987).

Within the European Community (discussed here in relation to this comparison only), the relaxation of trade barriers, travel without visas, a trans-European bureaucracy, free movement of labor and common currency all resemble a homogenized, reconfigured state, yet the character of individual nations is somehow maintained. The question remains, how will in this new space a resemblance of equality be achieved? How will cultural differences, historically embedded in national traditions be accommodated once the old boundaries are blurred, even eliminated? Will nations as they are known today present a hegemonic form of spatial organization in the post-modern world? While by now the European Community looks back on decades of success, allowing a timeframe for resolving relevant issues - the current process of enlargement brings these considerations once again into focus.

Gupta, comparing the achievements of the European Community with the accomplishments of the Non Aligned Movement, concluded, that the later has not been able to attain "the same bonds of solidarity linking peoples, locations and spaces that the European Community has managed to do." Thus the reconfiguration of space in the context of the EU might lead to the eventual development of an alternative hegemonic spatial formation, a space where the culturally different sensory worlds including trans-locality are better accommodated.



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Upravljanje raznolikošću, upravljanje identitetom: Između Drugog i (EU)nas

Bojana Petrić

Jedna od najčešće izražavanih bojazni u vezi sa proširenjem Evropske unije jeste da će procesi standardizacije dovesti do gubitka kulturne raznolikosti i specifičnosti i da će EU postati kulturno homogenizovan prostor. Kao pristup debati na ovu temu, analiziraću neke osobine diskursa o kulturi u dokumentima EU o kulturnom i jezičkom planiranju, kako bi se pojasnila koncepcija EU kulture (kultura) koja stoji iza njih.

Kultura je ušla u dokumente Evropske unije 1992-ge godine, kada se priznalo da ima važnu ulogu u procesu evropske integracije. Stoga, prvo u Maastrichtskom sporazumu (1992), a kasnije i u Amsterdamskom sporazumu (1997) predviđa se sledeće:

Zajednica će doprineti razvoju kultura Zemalja Članica, poštujući njihovu nacionalnu i regionalnu raznolikost i istovremeno ističući u prvi plan zajedničko kulturno nasleđe (Član 151).

Od tada su napisani razni akti, evaluativne studije i predlozi, a izrazi kao što su "evropska kultura" i "evropski kulturni identitet" ušli su u EU žargon. Ali umesto analize sadržine ovih dokumenata, fokusiraću se na jezik korišćen u nasumice izabranim tekstovima na Internet stranici Evropske unije za kulturu.

Ono što odmah postaje očigledno jeste da se u većini ovih EU dokumenata, kao i u samom Članu 151, dve reči uvek pojavljuju u vezi sa kulturom: zajednički i raznolikost. Zajednički se obično pojavljuje zajedno sa evropski i odnosi se na nasleđe, vrednosti, istoriju, budućnost i oblast kulture. U nekim slučajevima, izrazi kao što su polje zajedničke evropske kulture potpuno su zamenljivi izrazom polje evropske kulture, što upućuje na to da zajedničko u ovom kontekstu postaje suvišno, jer je već sadržano u evropskom. Za razliku od toga, raznolikost obično ide sa pridevima nacionalna, regionalna i lokalna, i odnosi se na kulturne i lingvističke stvari. Ovo navodi na zaključak da postoje dva odvojena domena kulture: domen zajedničkog (koji ima tendenciju da se predstavlja kao evropski) i domen raznolikosti.

Međutim, ovo linija podele nije oštro zacrtana, kao što to pokazuje lingvistička analiza, jer se javljaju dva pojma koji su deo oba domena: istorija i sama kultura. U kontekstu gde se istorija predstavlja kao deo domena zajedničkog (kao u izrazu zajednička evropska kultura), ono što se naglašava su vrednosti koje se smatraju izrazito evropskim, kao što su grčko-rimska tradicija, hrišćanstvo, prosvetiteljstvo, itd. Kada se predstavlja kao deo domena raznolikosti, istorija je uvek suprotstavljena zajedničkoj budućnosti (kao u izrazu različite istorije ali zajednička budućnost), što na neki način umanjuje važnost različitosti. Ovde vidimo trag strategije da se raznolikost učini zajedničkom, čemu ću se vratiti kasnije.

Kultura se, na sličan način, pojavljuje u izrazima kulturna raznolikost i polje zajedničke kulture. Ova koncepcija dvostruke prirode evropske kulture postaje još jasnija u analizi glagola koji se koriste sa ovim izrazima. Glagoli su ovde naročito važni jer upućuju na planirane akcije u sferi kulture. U skladu sa prethodnom podelom, pojavljuju se dva domena akcije: sa jedne strane, ono što je zajedničko treba da se stvori, razvije i istakne u prvi plan, dok je ono što je raznoliko u planu da se zaštiti, sačuva i podrži. Iz ovoga sledi pretpostavka da ono što je zajedničko još ne postoji, nije dovoljno razvijeno, ili je skriveno u pozadini, dok je raznolikost (sada ili će postati) ugrožena, u stanju propadanja i krhka. Ovaj diskurs sugeriše ne samo dvostruku prirodu EU kulture već i dvostruki pristup kulturi: zajednička kultura je dinamična, postoji osećaj pokreta, rasta i razvoja, dok se sfera kulturne raznolikosti posmatra kao statična i bez promene. Iako su obe strane kulture predstavljene kao vredne, ovaj diskurs nagoveštava da su "kulturno zajedničke stvari" važnije u EU projektu.

Naravno, ovo nije neko naročito iznenađenje. Dobro je poznato da proces građenja identiteta u bilo kojoj vrsti zajednice naglašava ono što je zajedničko, kako bi se stvorio osećaj društvene kohezije. Kultura i jezik igraju važnu ulogu u tom procesu, kao što je dokumentovano u brojnim studijama. I u EU, kulturno i jezičko planiranje su važna sredstva postizanja na kraju krajeva političkih i ekonomskih ciljeva: stabilnog političkog entiteta u kojem kapital, dobra i radna snaga kruže sa lakoćom. Da bi se to dogodilo, moraju se ukloniti sve vrste prepreka. Ali ako se žele poštovati ljudska prava i demokratske vrednosti, lingvistička i kulturna raznolikost se ne mogu ukloniti. I upravo tu leži zagonetka: da bi bila demokratska, EU mora ostati bogato raznolika, ali da bi bila kohezivna i funkcionalna, prepreka raznolikosti mora se umanjiti.

Da bi se razumela EU strategija upravljanja raznolikošću, treba obratiti pažnju na dokument pod nazivom Zajednički evropski referentni okvir za jezike (2001), koji izlaže pristup prvenstveno lingvističkoj, ali takođe i kulturnoj raznolikosti u EU. Odmah na početku navodi se da lingvistička i kulturna raznolikost mogu da se pretvore "od prepreke komunikaciji u izvor uzajamnog obogaćivanja i razumevanja" (CEF, p. 2). U stvari, upravo u tome leži uloga jezičkog planiranja EU: da se postigne evropska komunikativna integracija kao podrška političkom i ekonomskom projektu EU. U lingvistici, jezičko planiranje se obično odnosi na proces standardizovanja jezičkog varijeteta koji je izabran da postane norma, odnosno glavni ili jedan od zvaničnih jezika u državi ili regiji, koji se zatim kodifikuje, modernizuje i uvodi kroz medije i obrazovanje (Crystal, 1987). Ovaj proces je obično čvrsto povezan sa procesom izgradnje nacionalnog identiteta.

U EU, izabrana jezička norma je raznolikost jezika. To znači 20 zvaničnih jezika (sa priključenjem Nove Evrope) i oko stotinu jezika ako se obuhvate svi regionalni, manjinski i imigrantski jezici i varijeteti. Preostali deo procesa jezičkog planiranja u ovom slučaju je suštinski drugačiji: umesto regulisanja samog (samih) jezika, što se ostavlja pojedinačnim zemljama članicama, jezičko planiranje EU se usmerava na jezičke korisnike i njihovu jezičku praksu. Po tome je EU Carstvo fundamentalno različito (ili teži

da to bude) u odnosu na “lonac za topljenje” i “činiju sa salatoma” drugih lingvistički i kulturno raznolikih tvorevina. I upravo stoga ovaj dokument pažljivo naglašava razliku između multilingvalizma/multikulturalizma i plurilingvalizma/plurikulturalizma, navodeći da je prvi par – u smislu prisutnosti više od jednog jezika i kulture na nekoj teritoriji – ne cilj nego činjenica evropske realnosti. Umesto toga, uvode se pojmovi plurilingvalizma/plurikulturalizma (što je, uzgred rečeno, novina s obzirom da prethodna verzija dokumenta iz 1989 uopšte ne spominje “pluri” par) definisani na sledeći način:

Plurilingvalna ili plurikulturalna kompetencija odnosi se na sposobnost upotrebe jezika u svrhe komunikacije i učešća u interkulturalnoj interakciji, gde osoba, viđena kao društveni činilac poseduje, u različitim stupnjima, znanje nekoliko jezika i iskustvo nekoliko kultura. To se ne smatra nadređivanjem ili suprotstavljanjem zasebnih kompetencija, nego postojanjem jedne kompleksne ili čak kombinovane kompetencije na koju korisnik može da se pozove (CEF, str. 168).

Ono što ova politika predviđa jeste razvijanje ujedinjene jezičke kompetencije kod EU građana, koja sadrži mozaik sastavljen iz delova jezika i jezičkih veština, koje će biti na raspolaganju korisnicima u različitim lingvističkim situacijama. Drugim rečima, ova vizija prikazuje plurilingvalne i plurikulturalne pojedince koji su udobno-mobilni u multilingvalnoj i multikulturalnoj Evropi, koji se svugde osećaju kod kuće, i konačno, ali ne i najmanje bitno, koji mogu da kruže zajedno sa kapitalom. Ova slika je neverovatno slična onome što je Adler (1974) nazvao “multikulturalnim čovekom”, koji je otvoren i fleksibilan, koji nije ukorenjen u jednom fiksanom identitetu, ali koji istovremeno ima fluidan osećaj identiteta i nastanjuje prostor “treće kulture”.

Iz lingvističke perspektive, ovo je jedinstven projekat. Ideja da se kao sredstvo društvene kohezije ne koristi određeni jezik, već sam koncept plurilingvalizma kao zajednički stav i vrednost je zaista izuzetna. U ovom trenutku može se samo nagađati kakve dugotrajne posledice ovaj plan može imati na, recimo, ulogu maternjeg jezika (u situaciji gde nema jednog glavnog jezika i jednog ili više pozadinskih jezika, često u mirovanju, već postoji melanz stalno aktivnih jezika) ili na vrste jezičkih inerakcija između pripadnika različitih nacija koji imaju pristup sličnim repertoarima jezika. U širem kontekstu, Evropa plurilingvalnih građana biće bez sumnje veoma drugačija od ostalih velikih multilingvalnih tvorevina, kao što su SAD. Možda će biti sličnija Indiji, gde se osim engleskog i hindi, govore brojni drugi jezici, gde biti bi ili tri-lingvalan nije neobično i gde je prebacivanje sa jednog koda na drugi u toku jedne iste konverzacije uobičajena pojava.

Kao lingvista, ovaj razvoj događaja mi se čini veoma uzbudljivim, ali kao neko ko je preživeo jednu donekle sličnu utopiju jedinstva na osnovu različitosti, pomalo sam skeptična. Tačno je da već postoji grupa ljudi, kako u Staroj Evropi, tako i u Novoj Evropi i Još-Ne Evropi, koji mogu sa lakoćom da se prebacuju sa jednog koda na drugi i iz jedne kulture u drugu. Ali to podrazumeva ili gusto isprepletano multilingvalno okruženje ili iskustvo lake pokretljivosti, što je na mnogim mestima povezano samo sa elitom. Za razliku od toga, prema EU statistici, 55% građana EU ne govori ni jedan jezik osim maternjeg. Ideja jezičkog projekta se možda zasniva na realnosti male, društveno privilegovane i intelektualno otvorene grupe ljudi, ali može biti teško primenljiva na širi kontekst. Dalje, uloga engleskog jezika i njegova tendencija da monopolizuje jezičke pejzaže se takođe mora uzeti u obzir. Iako jezički plan EU ne favorizuje ideju nijednog jezika kao lingua franca u Evropi, realnost skoro sigurno pokazuje da je jedan takav jezik već u opticaju. Ako ljudi već mogu srećno da se sporazumevaju na njemu, da li će želeći da ulažu vreme i energiju u postajanje plurilingvalnim? Sledeće, moto projekta, “svi jezici za sve”, nagoveštava jednakost jezika i pristupa jezicima. Ali jasno je da su neki jezici “više jednaki” od drugih. Vrlo je verovatno da će jezički repertoari EU građana sadržati manje više standardne selekcije i kombinacije jezika, od kojih će jedni biti pobednici, a drugi gubitnici. Kako će se izbeći marginalizacija ovih jezika (a samim tim i njihovih govornika)? Dalje, ovaj jezički projekat se prvenstveno fokusira na nacionalne jezike zemalja članica, dok lingvisti ukazuju na veoma realne opasnosti nestajanja jezika manjina, autohtonih zajednica, regiona i imigranata (npr. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002 pokazuje da je Evropa već lingvistički najsiromašniji kontinent, sa samo 3% jezika koji se govore u svetu). Kao što navodi Philipson (2004), “postoji ozbiljan rizik, i na nacionalnom i na nadnacionalnom nivou, od toga da jezička politika ostane ukopana u lingvistički nacionalizam i zamagljena pogrešnom verom u to da engleski svima služi podjednako dobro.” Konačno, gledajući van granica EU, da li će ovaj naglasak na jezike Evropske unije ići na uštrb globalno važnih jezika koji nisu jezici EU?

U ovom trenutku, nema jasnih odgovora na mnoga od ovih pitanja. Ono što se može videti jeste da je strategija EU za raznolikost u procesu oblikovanja: da se stvore kohezija i jedinstvo tako što će se raznolikost učiniti zajedničkom. Na nivou jezičke i kulturne prakse pojedinca, ova strategija ima za cilj da promeni stavove građana EU prema raznolikosti tako što će kod njih razviti osećaj vlasništva nad njenim fragmentima. Drugim rečima, ideja je da strani, možda čak i Drugi, postane deo poznatog, možda čak i (EU)nas. Moglo bi se reći da ovaj pristup raznolikosti ima za cilj da preokrene proces stavljanja u kategoriju Drugog (ostranjanja). Ali niko još ne zna koliko je ostvariv ovaj veličanstveni jezički i kulturni projekat EU – koji je konačno i projekat identiteta – čak i ako postoji dovoljno političke volje i finansijske podrške na svim nivoima. Jedna stvar je ipak jasna: uključivanje Nove Evrope, donedavno čudnog istočnog Drugog, u EU, biće veliki test ideja plurilingvalizma i plurikulturalizma.

Managing diversity, managing identity: Between the Other and Our(EU)selves

Bojana Petrić

One of the most frequently expressed fears in relation to EU enlargement is that the processes of standardisation will lead to loss of cultural diversity and specificity and that the EU will become a culturally homogenised space. As an approach to a debate on this issue, I will look at some features of the discourse about culture in EU documents related to culture and language planning in order to shed some light on the underlying conception of EU culture(s).

Culture entered EU documents in 1992, when it was acknowledged that it has an important role to play in the process of European integration. Thus, first the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), and later the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) stipulates that The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore (Article 151).

Since then, a variety of policy papers, evaluation studies, recommendations and conventions have been written and expressions such as ‘European culture’ and ‘European cultural identity’ have entered the EU jargon. But, rather than analysing the content of these documents, I will focus on the language used in a random selection of texts available on the website of the Culture Portal of the European Union.

What immediately becomes obvious is that in most of these EU documents, as in Article 151 itself, two words always appear in relation to culture: common and diversity. Common typically appears together with European and is used to refer to heritage, values, history, future, and cultural area. In some cases expressions such as common European cultural area are used interchangeably with European cultural area, implying that ‘common’ in this context is becoming superfluous since it is already contained within ‘European’. In contrast, diversity usually goes with national, regional and local, and refers to things cultural and linguistic. This suggests that there are two separate domains of culture: one of things common (which tends to be presented as European) and the other of things diverse.

However, this division is not completely clear cut, as the linguistic analysis reveals, since two notions belong to both domains: history and culture itself. In contexts where history is presented as part of the domain of the common (as in common European history), what is emphasised is the values considered distinctly European, such as the Greco-Roman tradition, Christianity, enlightenment, etc. When it is presented as belonging to the domain of diversity, it is always juxtaposed to common future (as in different histories but common future), which in a way minimises the relevance of difference. Here we see a trace of the strategy to make diversity common, which I will come back to later.

Culture, similarly, appears both as cultural diversity and the common cultural area. This conception of the dual nature of European culture becomes even clearer in the analysis of verbs used with these expressions. Verbs are particularly important here since they point to planned actions in the sphere of culture. Consistently with the previous delineation, two domains of action emerge: on the one hand, ‘things common’ need to be created, developed and brought to the fore, while ‘things diverse’ are planned to be protected, preserved and supported. The underlying assumption then follows that ‘things common’ do not yet exist, are underdeveloped, and hidden in the background, while diversity is (or will be) endangered, or in deteriorating state and vulnerable. The discourse suggests not only the dual nature of EU culture but also a dual approach to culture: common culture is dynamic; there is a sense of movement, growth and development, while the sphere of cultural diversity is viewed as static and unchanging. Although both sides of culture are presented as valuable, the discourse suggests that ‘things (culturally) common’ are more important in the EU project.

Of course, this is not very surprising. It is well known that the process of identity building in any type of community emphasises what is common in order to create a sense of social cohesion. Culture and language play an important role in this process, as has been documented in numerous studies. In the EU too cultural and language planning are important tools for achieving the ultimately political and economic goals: a stable political entity where capital, goods and labour flow easily. For this to happen, all kinds of barriers need to be eliminated. But linguistic and cultural diversity cannot be eliminated if human rights and democratic values are to be respected. And this is where the conundrum lies: in order to be democratic, the EU must remain richly diverse; but in order to be cohesive and functional, the barrier of diversity must be minimised.

To understand the EU strategy for managing diversity, I will pay closer attention to the document titled Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001), which outlines the approach to primarily linguistic but also cultural diversity in the EU. Right at the beginning, it is stated that linguistic and cultural diversity can be converted “from a barrier to communication into a source of mutual enrichment and understanding” (CEF, p. 2). In fact, that is precisely the role of EU language planning: to achieve European communicative integration in support of the political and economic EU project. In linguistics, language planning usually refers to the process of standardising a linguistic variety chosen to become the norm, i.e., the main, or one of the official languages in a state/region, which is then codified, modernised and implemented through the media and education (Crystal, 1987). This is usually closely related to the process of national identity building.

In the EU, the linguistic norm selected is the diversity of languages. This means 20 official languages (with New Europe included) and about a hundred languages in total if all regional, minority and immigrant languages and varieties are included. The rest of the language planning process is crucially different from what usually happens: instead of regulating the language(s) itself/themselves,

which is left to the individual member states, EU language planning targets language users and their language practices. This is where the EU Empire is (or aims to be) fundamentally different from the melting pots and salad bowls of other linguistically and culturally diverse constructions. And that is why the document carefully stresses the difference between multilingualism/multiculturalism and plurilingualism/pluriculturalism, stating that the former – in the sense of the presence of more than one language and culture in a territory – are not the aims but rather facts of European reality. Instead, the notions of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism are introduced (which, by the way, is a new development since the previous version of the document (from 1989) does not mention the “pluri” pair at all) as follows:

Plurilingual and pluricultural competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw. (CEF, p. 168)

What this policy envisages is developing a unified linguistic competence in EU citizens, which would contain a mosaic of bits of languages and language skills that will be readily available in various linguistic situations. In other words, this vision pictures plurilingual and pluricultural individuals comfortably mobile in multilingual and multicultural Europe, feeling at home everywhere, and, last but not least, being able to flow with the capital. This image is remarkably similar to what Adler (1974) called “the multicultural man”, who is open and flexible, not rooted in one fixed identity but at the same time has a fluid sense of identity and inhabits a ‘third-culture’ space.

Linguistically speaking, this is a unique project. The idea of using not a particular language as a vehicle of social cohesion but rather the very concept of plurilingualism as a shared attitude or value is indeed remarkable. At this stage it can only be speculated what kind of long-term consequences this plan could have on, for example, the role of the mother tongue (in a situation where there is no one main language and one or more background, often dormant, languages but rather a melange of constantly active languages) or on the kinds of linguistic interactions between members of different nationalities who have access to similar repertoires of languages. In a broader context, the Europe of plurilingual citizens would no doubt be very different from other big multilingual constructions, such as the US. Perhaps it would be closer to India, where in addition to English and Hindi, a number of other languages are spoken; it is common to be bi- or tri-lingual and to code-switch among different languages in a single conversation.

As a linguist, I am excited about this development but as a survivor of a somewhat similar unity-in-diversity utopia, I am a little sceptical. It is true that there is already a group of people, in Old Europe, New Europe, and Not-Yet Europe alike, who are able to code-switch and culture-switch with ease. But this implies either a very closely-knit multilingual environment or experience of easy mobility, in many places associated with elites only. In contrast, according to EU statistics, 55% of EU citizens cannot talk in a language other than their mother tongue. The idea of the language project may be based on the realities of a small, socially privileged and intellectually open group of people but hardly applicable to larger contexts. Further, the role of English and its tendency to monopolise language landscapes has to be taken into account. Although the EU language plan does not favour the idea of any lingua franca for Europe, the reality almost certainly shows that there is one already in circulation. And if people can already happily communicate in it, will they want to invest time and energy into becoming plurilingual? Next, the project’s motto ‘all languages for all’ suggests equality of languages and language access. But clearly some languages are ‘more equal’ than others. It is very likely that the linguistic repertoires of EU citizens will contain more or less standard selections and combinations of languages in which some will be winners and other losers. How will the marginalization of these languages (and by implication its speakers) be avoided? Further, the language project focuses primarily on member state national languages, while linguists point to very real dangers of language loss of minority, indigenous, regional and immigrant languages (e.g., see Skutnabb-Kangas (2002) who shows that Europe is already linguistically the world’s poorest continent, containing only 3% of the languages spoken in the world). As Philipson (2004) states, “there is a serious risk, at both the national and the supranational levels, of language policy remaining entrenched in linguistic nationalism, and obscured by a false faith in English serving all equally well”. Finally, looking beyond EU borders, will this focus on EU languages take place at the expense of globally important non-EU languages?

At this stage, there are no clear answers to many of these questions. What can be seen is that the EU diversity strategy is taking shape: to create cohesion and unity by making diversity common. On the level of individual linguistic and cultural practice, this strategy aims to change the attitudes of EU citizens towards diversity by developing in them a sense of ownership of its fragments. In other words, the idea is that the foreign, perhaps even the Other, should become part of the familiar, maybe even Our(EU)selves. It may be said that this approach to diversity aims to reverse the process of otherisation. But no one yet knows how realistic this grand EU linguistic, cultural - and ultimately identity - project is, even if there is enough political will and financial support at all levels. One thing is clear though: EU’s inclusion of New Europe, until recently the strange eastern Other, will be the big test of the ideas of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism.

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Mediji i društvene zajednice u istočnoj Evropi

Intervju sa Milošem Vojtehovskim

P: Sa proširenjem Evropske Unije, dogodiće se značajne geopolitičke, ekonomske i kulturne promene. Deset zemalja centralne i istočne Evrope postaću 'ravnopravne' članice EU. Kakva je bila situacija u ovim zemljama u prethodnih 15 godina na polju razvoja medijskih inicijativa i medija zajednice? Možeš li 'predvideti' kako će medijski pejzaž izgledati u proširenoj Evropskoj Uniji?

MV: Oživljavanje svesti o širim zajednicama u vezi sa medijskom pismoenošću i uključivanje neprofesionalnih novinara u masovne medije nakon pada komunističkih režima, prošlo je kroz komplikovan period tokom poslednjih 15 godina. Stoga je teško dati pregled opšte situacije, jer razvoj ka demokratiji je osetljiv, ponekad turbulentan i nestabilan. Nesporazumi i pogrešna tumačenja su tipični za mnoge nedavne analize i otkrivaju sa jedne strane ono što bi želelo da se vidi, a sa druge 'mutna proročanstva'. Ono što je jasno na slici medijskog pejzaža nakon 89-te u centralnoj i istočnoj Evropi, jeste da nije primereno generalizovati. Pre pada komunizma, u skoro svim zemljama regiona postojale su slične pravne strukture, politika i praksa medija: cenzura, emitovanje, ciljevi itd. Odstupanja su bila veća u zavisnosti od lokalne istorije u nekim zemljama kao što su Jugoslavija, Poljska, Mađarska i možda delimično Rumunija. Uprkos tome, i tamo su se održavali isti ideološki monopoli skoro isto tako striktno kao i sovjetski model. Kada je SSSR počeo da se raspada, zemlje u regionu su počele da se odvajaju od sovjetskog modela različitim tempom i u različitim pravcima. Medijski stručnjaci sa zapada i iz SAD napisali su mnoge analize, često sa predrasudama nastalim usled primene drugačije optike iz drugačijih političkih iskustava. Izuzetak tome je, na primer, projekat 'Tranzicija on-line' (www.tol.cz), koji se bavi praćenjem slobode medija u istočnoj Evropi iz šire 'komparativne' perspektive, i oslanja se na stručnost lokalnih dopisnika i istraživača.

Stanovništvo većine zemalja bivšeg istočnog bloka imalo je određenu prednost u odnosu na zapadno društvo u smislu sposobnosti da 'čita između redova', da dekodira ideološku propagandu, da se ogradi od masovne medijske manipulacije. Uprkos tome, aktivne sposobnosti komuniciranja o javnim i političkim pitanjima van ograničenog disidentskog kruga, nosioci medijske kampanje kao što su novine, radio emisije, posteri, ulične akcije, itd, skoro su potpuno zamrli. Disidentstvo je razvilo specifične skrivene strategije funkcionisanja u totalitarnoj državi i obraćanja (ograničeno) javnosti. One su postale problematične za primenu u novoj 'post-komunističkoj' situaciji. Osnovno pitanje je definicija onoga što zapravo čini 'zajednicu' i da li je moguće primeniti je u nekoj vrsti opšteg 'antropološkog' smisla. Osećaj zajednice u sindikatima i drugim interesnim grupama je uništen u raznim društvenim slojevima. Periodi mekih pravila bili su suviše kratki da bi stvorili svest o medijima zajednice. Široki pokret 'protestnih', 'nezavisnih' medija ili 'medija zajednice' koji je funkcionisao u zapadnoj Evropi imao je koristi od svoje relativno kontinuirane istorije (od 60-tih) i u određenoj meri se integrisao u opšte medijske strukture. Medijska kultura u zemljama bivše istočne Evrope odražava lokalna ekonomska i politička okruženja, gde se moć još uvek koncentriše i kontroliše prema interesima vladinih ili komercijalnih kanala. 'Glas' domena javnosti je veoma slab i marginalizovan, iako su se neke oblasti, kao što su ekološka i humanitarna pomoć, prilično brzo razvile. Mediji uvek odražavaju društvo i ne mogu se očekivati demokratski mediji u pre-demokratskoj državi.

Postoje procesi koji se dešavaju na pan-evropskom nivou: uloga nacionalne države se smanjuje, multinacionalne međunarodne novinske korporacije – naročito audio-vizuelne mreže – zadobije veću kontrolu nad lokalnim i regionalnim oblastima. Prvobitna struktura medijske publike se pretvara u potrošačku vrstu i kategoriše na osnovu svog odnosa prema tržištu, finansijskoj stratifikaciji i kulturnim preferencijama. Približavamo se zanimljivim pojavama u medijskom pejzažu (medijažu), sličnim pojavi mreže tržišnih centara, koji čitav kontinent dele na interesne zone od Portugala do Rusije. Police medijskih supermarketa nude potrošačima ono što bi trebalo da žele, ali mali lokalni preduzetnici i lokalne pijace nestaju.

P: U EU koja se širi, i neke druge stvari se takođe šire: na primer, cenzura, sprovođenje zakona o kopiraju i intelektualnoj svojini, koji proizvode atmosferu jake političke i ekonomske kontrole. U tom kontekstu, kakva će biti budućnost javnog domena, kulturne i informacione razmene u EU, naročito između onih koji su unutra i onih izvan?

MV: Trenutna situacija slobode govora ili građanskih prava u većini post-komunističkih zemalja, znatno se poboljšala u poređenju sa centralizovanim opresivnim aparatom od pre 15 godina. Ali javlja se jedan nov fenomen, koji se pojavio tokom transformacije ka tržišnoj ekonomiji. Važno je shvatiti razliku između 'političke' kontrole i 'ekonomske' kontrole. Totalitarni sistemi pokušavaju da standardizuju spektar lokalnih žargona, da uvedu ortodoksne novogovore, da eliminišu autonomne javne domene, da lobotomiziraju osećaj za javno uređenje i imaju za cilj da stvore pasivnost i lojalnost kod ljudi. Ekonomsko odlučivanje u okviru javnog domena je uzvišena umetnost kontrole i mogla bi funkcionisati još efikasnije nego jaka cenzura. Nadgledanje je samo jedno očigledno sredstvo iz celog spektra: industrija reklame, tendencija pretvaranja ljudi u potrošače, a ne u kreativne korisnike tehnologije, neo-kolonijalne aktivnosti korporacija koje utiču na obrazovne sisteme i kloniraju zaposlene u jedno-dimenzionalne specijaliste. Tendenciju pojačavanja aparata kontrole i eliminaciju i neutralizaciju pokreta 'građanske neposlušnosti' i 'protesta' protiv vladajućih ekonomskih i političkih elita, lako je pratiti i u EU i van EU. I pored toga, ključni momenat mogao bi biti neophodnost da se dovedu u ravnotežu poredak, kontrola i ponašanje prilagođeno potrošaču u stanovništvu. Ograničenja funkcionisanja javnog domena, slobode kretanja, radnih navika itd, koje bi vodile ka smanjenju tržišta, bile bi protivne interesima EU. Razmena kulture i informacija je u velikoj meri rezultat opštih postavki ekonomskih i političkih pravila. Ako bi rat bio najbolja strategija da se ubrizga nova energija u tržišta koja se smanjuju, onda bi se rat smatrao opcijom. Naravno, na nekom drugom mestu, van 'Carstva'. Pogledajte na primer 'Rat protiv terora'.

P: Pristupanje EU znači da takozvane 'pristupajuće države' treba da se povinuju i usklade sa čitavom listom pravila koje je propisala EU. Pristupanje znači prihvatanje, primenu i implementaciju standarda EU. Iako EU tvrdi da promoviše kulturnu raznolikost i razlike, vrebalo opasnost od homogenizovane, standardizovane, mono-kulturne Evrope. Šta povinovanje standardima znači za pitanje identiteta?

MV: Ne verujem u identitet u smislu 'nacionalnih' obrazaca ponašanja. Odbaciti lokalne obrasce kao što su prekomerno konzumiranje alkohola i droga, lov, kult oružja, zlostavljanje životinja, zabrane na osnovi roda, antisemitizam, ksenofobija, folkloristička propaganda, itd, značilo bi da nacije EU konačno odrastaju nakon vekova infantilizma i ideološke ili religiozne fantazmagorije. Pripadati Evropi je i dalje bolje nego trpeti podređenost u današnjim korumpiranim lokalnim populističkim režimima i političarima.

P: Nedavno je u opticaj pušten dokument EVROPSKI MANIFEST sa namerom da podrži i naglasi važnost 'medija manjinskih zajednica'. Na neki način, on se bavi medijima manjinskih zajednica i načinom na koji se uvodi politika društvenog uključivanja, "obezbeđivanjem slobode govora, prava da se dobije informacija i prava na komunikaciju za sve, uključujući prava manjina da dobiju medije na svom jeziku". Sve ovo se smatra osnovnim ljudskim pravima za sve građane. Šta misliš o ovakvim dokumentima? Da li je to samo 'papir' ili nešto što zaista može uticati na promovisanje manjinskih medija?

MV: Kulturno i demokratski orijentisani mediji su uvek bili manjina po svom opsegu delovanja i to će i ostati. Bilo koji dokument koji pokušava da formuliše potrebu da se 'normalni' jezici i diskurs održe, revitalizuju i stave u nove okvire je izazov, i pruža manjini osećaj identiteta. Njihov opstanak i razvoj zavise od mnogih aspekata i pitanja.

P: U vezi sa slobodom govora i javnim domenom – naročito u informacionom društvu – da li misliš da informacione i komunikacijske tehnologije igraju značajnu ulogu u ostvarivanju pomenutih ljudskih prava? Internet i nove tehnologije se često pozicioniraju kao vrednosti same po sebi, kao i sredstva koja će pomoći da se prevaziđu 'digitalna podela'. Postoji li realna platforma da se to ostvari ili govorimo o monopolima u tom polju, nedostatku infrastrukture u zemljama na periferiji, itd?

MV: Proces uvođenja novih tehnologija (uglavnom razvijenih u vojnom kontekstu) na široj osnovi uvek stvara duboke promene u društvu. Neki delovi tog uticaja mogu se kontrolisati, drugi stvaraju 'kapije bez brava'. Internet, i elektronske mreže uopšte, pokreću ogromnu promenu u ljudskim akcijama, mislima i ponašanju. Povratna veza između tehnološke zone i starih društvenih obrazaca je veoma komplikovan sistem. Elita ima koristi od razvijene informacione tehnologije, a naučni istraživači su još uvek samo mali deo svetskog stanovništva. Ogroman deo svetskog stanovništva ne samo da nema pravo na komuniciranje ili pristup ICT, nego čak ni pravo pristupa osnovnim ljudskim resursima kao što su voda, hrana, i zdravstvena nega. Uprkos tome, tehnokratija želi da nastavi da kontroliše našu budućnost. Koliko će ova mala bogata elita biti voljna da razmotri mogućnost podele profita sa siromašnim članovima porodice koji nemaju pristup tehnologiji, i koliko ce uspeti da održi tu kontrolu je pitanje za futurologe. Nedavni svetski samit Ujedinjenih Nacija o informacionom društvu (World Summit on the Information Society), održan decembra 2003-će je dobar primer. Nakon napornog i skupog procesa rezultati Samita bili su ograničeni. Međutim, po rečima Anrijet Estherjozen (Anriette Esterhuysen), izvršne direktorke APC-a, "iz perspektive mnogih organizacija građanskog društva koje su aktivno učestovale, Samit je stvorio novu mogućnost za solidarnost preko ideoloških, sektorskih i geografskih linija podele."

P: U koncepciji projekta FM@dia [http://www.fmedia.ecn.cz/], spominješ stvaranje delotvorne platforme za bolju saradnju medijskih aktivista, slobodnih radio i internet izdavača, itd. Drugim rečima, radi se o procesu umrežavanja. Postoje određene teorije koje zastupaju stav da 'model mreže' više nije model savremene organizacije u nastajanju. Tvrdi se da je izgubio svoj subverzivni karakter i postao statički model, a da pri tome nije dostigao nivo odelučivanja. Kakvo je tvoje mišljenje o tome? Misliš li da je ovaj oblik saradnje/umrežavanja budućnost za nezavisne medijske pokrete ili ne?

MV: Definitivno postoji šansa da se pronađu zajedničke strategije i interesi različitih pojedinaca, inicijativa i zajednica koje su bile podeljene u pre-elektronskom dobu na osnovu geografskih, etničkih, nacionalnih ili klasnih razlika, uključujući kulturne inicijative, vojne i paravojne jedinice, poslovne korporacije, itd. Nadamo se da ćemo moći da uključimo, sretnemo se i upoznamo sa inicijativama koje traže dijalog, diskusiju i zajedničku komunikaciju uopšte, ne samo putem strategije 'umrežavanja'. Umrežavanje nije sveobuhvatni fokus Foruma kao što si navela. Nepotrebno je reći da su mediji zajednice i umrežavanje pod uticajem finansijske podrške i da delimično zavise od birokratskih interesa i struktura ili interesa i vizija aktivista. Ali, činjenica da mnogi pojedinci sa veoma različitih mesta i jezika istražuju mogućnosti da izraze svoja mišljenja putem 'institucije zajednice', je dokaz da ovaj proces raste iznutra.

Nedavna studija Marka Surmana i Ketrin Rili (Mark Surman & Katherine Reilly) koju je naručio Savet za istraživanja u društvenim naukama kaže da je "pitanje preuzimanja – korišćenja umreženih tehnologija strateški, politički, kreativno – među najurgentnijim pitanjima sa kojima se građansko društvo suočava u informacionom društvu. Veliko pitanje glasi: šta da radimo sa tim umreženim tehnologijama sada kada im imamo pristup? Po svemu sudeći, velika većina organizacija građanskog društva se bori sa pitanjem kako da oblikuje te alate tako da odgovore na njihove potrebe – da povećaju učinak kampanja, projekata i programa koristeći umrežene tehnologije. Ili, u mnogim slučajevima, jednostavno ih koriste bez razmišljanja o tome gde i kako se te tehnologije uklapaju u politički rad kojem prilaze sa toliko strasti. Ne radi se o tome da te organizacije koriste umrežene tehnologije potpuno bez preispitivanja ili kritike, već pre da ne posvećuju vreme razmišljanju kako bi mogli koristiti te tehnologije na strateški bolji način." (Surman and Reilly, Appropriating the Internet for Social Change, SSRC, November 2003).

Svako ko radi iz unutrašnjosti aparata komunikacije suočava se sa iskušenjem da probleme uočava iz 'tehničke' perspektive kao 'softversko' rešenje. 'Aktivizam novih medija' i, na primer, neke struje anti-globalističkog pokreta često vode ka osećaju samo-dovoljnog proročanstva, odbrani pojedinačnog interesa, mesijanizmu i zanemarivanju 'običnih ljudi'. Mogućnost da kultivirate zajednicu primerenim korišćenjem medija i da postignete rastući uticaj znači da napustite elitističke ili 'avangardne' stavove Umetnika. To znači pristupiti široj javnosti (i razumeti je) uz pomoć starog i najboljeg alata za umrežavanje: 'solidarnosti'. Kultivisanje, oživljavanje i razvoj medija zajednice nisu mogući bez stalne plodne platforme spremne da prihvati hibridne oblike i platforme, koje omogućavaju da se gleda i dosegne izvan granica.

Community Media Kit

Interview with Milos Vojtechovsky

Q: With the expansion of the European Union, significant geopolitical, economic and cultural shifts will happen. Ten countries from Central and Eastern Europe will become 'equal' member states of the EU. What was the situation in the preceding 15 years in these countries like, concerning the development of media initiatives, and community media? Can you 'predict' how the media landscape might look in an expanding European Union?

MV: The revival of awareness of the broader communities concerning media literacy, and involvement of non-professional journalists in mass media, following the fall of communist regimes underwent a complicated period during the last 15 years. It is therefore hard to outline the general situation, as development towards democracy is fragile, sometimes turbulent and unstable. Misunderstandings and misinterpretations are typical of many recent analyses and reveal wishful thinking on the one hand, or "dim prophecies" on the other. What is clear in the picture of the media landscape after '89 in Central and Eastern Europe is that it is inappropriate to generalize. Before the fall of communism, nearly in all of the countries in the region there were similar media legislative structures, policies and practices: censorship, broadcasting, purposes, etc. The difference was bigger according to local history in some countries like Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, and perhaps partly Romania. Nevertheless, the common ideological monopolies were maintained there almost as strictly as the Soviet model did. When the USSR started to dissolve, countries in the region evolved from the Soviet model at different rates, and in different directions. Many analyses have been written by media specialists from the West and US, and they are often biased by different optics applied from different political experiences. (One exception is for example the project Transition On Line [www.tol.cz], which focuses on monitoring freedom of media in Eastern Europe from a larger "comparative" perspective, and relies on the expertise of local correspondents and researchers.

The population in most of the former Eastern Block countries had a certain advantage to Western society in their ability to "read between the lines", decode the ideological propaganda, fence off mass media manipulation. Nevertheless, the active skills to communicate about public and political matters outside of the limited circles of dissent, the campaigning media carriers like journals, radio broadcasters, posters, street actions, etc. became almost extinct. Dissent developed specific clandestine strategies to operate in the totalitarian state, and target the (limited) public. The latter was problematic to apply in the new "post-communist" situation. The key issue is the definition of what "community" actually is and if it is possible to apply in some kind of general "anthropological" term. The sense of community in trade unions, and other interest groups have been destroyed in many social layers. Periods of softer regulations were too short to generate community media awareness. The wide movement of "protest", "independent" or "community" media operating in Western Europe benefited from its relatively continuous history (since the '60's), and integrated to some extent within the general media structures. Media culture in former East European countries reflects local economical and political settings, where power is still concentrated and controlled according to interests of the government or commercial channels. The "voice" of the public domain is very weak and marginalized, even if some areas as environmental and humanitarian aid developed quite fast. Media always mirror society and one cannot expect democratic media in a pre-democratic state.

There are processes occurring on a pan-European scale: the role of the national state is diminishing, and multinational international press corporations - especially the audiovisual networks - will gain more control over local and regional areas. The originally structured media audience is changing into a species of consumers, and is categorized according to their relationships to the market, financial stratification and cultural preferences. We are approaching interesting phenomena in the mediascape, similar to the emergence of the network of shopping malls, which divide the entire continent into interest zones from Portugal to Russia. The shelves of the media supermarkets offer the consumers what they are supposed to want, but the small local entrepreneurs and local market places are disappearing.

Q: In an expanding EU, some other things are expanding as well: for example, censorship, and copyright and IP law enforcement that produce an atmosphere of strong political and economic control. Within this context, what would be the future of the public domain, cultural and information exchange in the EU, especially between those IN and those OUT?

MV: The actual situation of freedom of speech or civic rights in most of the post communist countries has considerably improved, compared to the centralized oppressive apparatus 15 years ago. But there is one new phenomena, which appeared during the transform towards market economy. It is important to realize the difference between "political" control and "economical" control. Totalitarian systems attempt to standardize the spectrum of local jargons, to implement orthodox newspeak, eliminate autonomous public domains, lobotomize the sense for public constitution, and aim to establish passivity and loyalty of the people. Economical decision making within the public domain is a sublime art of control, could be functioning even more efficiently than strong censorship. Surveillance is just one obvious tool from the whole spectrum: advertising industry, tendencies to turn people into consumers rather than creative users of technology, neo-colonisation activities of bussines corporations which are influencing the educational systems and cloning the employees in to the one dimensional specialists. The tendency to strengthen the control apparatus, and eliminate and neutralize the movements of "civil disobedience" and "protest" against the ruling economic and political elites, is easy to trace down both in the EU and outside the EU. Nevertheless, the crucial moment could be the necessity to balance the order, control, and economic consumer-friendly behaviour in the population. Restrictions on the functioning of the public domain, freedom of movement, working habits, etc. which could lead to market decrease, would oppose EU interests. Culture and information exchange is very much the result of the general settings of economical and political rules. If war would be the best strategy to inject new energy into the dwindling markets, then war

would be considered an option. Ofcourse somewhere else, outside of the "Empire". See for example the "War Against Terror".

Q: Accession to the EU means the so-called "accessing states" have to comply and conform to a whole list of EU prescribed regulations. Joining means accepting, performing and perpetuating EU standards. Eventhough the EU maintains to promote cultural diversity and difference, the dangers for a homogenized, standardized mono-cultural Europe are lurking. What does complying with standards mean for issues of identity?

MV: I don't believe in identity, in the sense of "national" behavioral patterns. To discharge such local patterns as alcohol and drug abuse, hunting, weapons idolatry, abuse of animals, gender suppresion, antisemitism, xenophobia, folkloristic propaganda, etc. would indicate that the EU nations are finally growing up after centuries of infantilism and ideological or religious phantasmagoria. To belong to Europe is still better than to suffer subordination under the today's corrupt local populist regimes and policy makers.

Q: Recently the document 'A EUROPEAN MANIFESTO has been circulating, in order to support, and underline the importance of 'minority community media'. In a way it deals with minority community media, and the way social inclusion policies are implemented, 'ensuring freedom of speech, the right to receive information and the right to communicate for all, including the right for minorities to receive media in their own language'. This is all regarded as basic human rights for all citizens. What do you think of these kind of documents? Is it just 'paper' or can it have a real impact on promoting minority media?

MV: Culturally and democratically oriented media have always been a minority in their scope, and will remain so. Any document which attempts to formulate the need to sustain, revitalize, and reframe the "normal" languages and discourse is a challenge, and provides the minority with the feeling of identity. Their survival and evolvment depends on many aspects and issues.

Q: Regarding freedom of speech and the public domain – especially in our information society - do you think that Information and Communication Technologies play a crucial role towards realizing the aforementioned human right? Often, Internet and new technologies are positioned as values by themselves, as well as tools which will help to overcome the 'digital divide'. Is there a realistic platform to realize this, or are we talking about monopolies in that field, lack of infrastructure in countries in the periphery, etc?

MV: The process of implementing new technologies (mostly developed in a military context) on a broader scale, always creates profound shifts in society. Parts of the impact one can control, others create "gates without locks". Internet, and electronic networks in general, bring about an enormous change in people's actions, thoughts and behaviour. The feedback between techno zone and old social patterns is a very complicated system. The elite benefits from the advanced information technology, and scientific research is still only a small fraction of the world's population. Enourmous quantity of world population lacks not only rights to communicate, or access to ICT, but even rights access the basic human resources, like water, food, health care.. Nevertheless, the technocracy want to keep to control our futures. To which extent this small rich elite will be willing to consider to share the profit with the poor members of the family without access to technology, and how long they can manage to keep this control is a question for futurologists. The recent United Nations World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) held in December 2003 offers a good example. The Summit outcomes were limited after an arduous and expensive process. However, according Anriette Esterhuysen, APC executive director, "from the perspective of many civil society organisations that participated actively, the WSIS has created a new opportunity for solidarity across ideological, sectoral and geographical divides".

Q: In concept for the FM@dia project [http://www.fmedia.ecn.cz/], you mention creating a functioning platform for better collaboration among media activists, artists, free radios, Internet publishers, etc. In other words, this is about a process of networking. There are certain theories which propagate the view that the "network model" ceased to be the emerging contemporary organizational model. The claim is that it lost its subversive character, and became a static model, that yet, didn't reach levels of decision making. What is your opinion on this? Do you think that this form of collaboration/networking is the future for independent media movements? Or not?

MV: Definitely there are chances to find common strategies and shared interests amongst a variety of individuals, initiatives and communities which have been geographically, ethnically, nationally or class divided in the pre-electronic age, including cultural initiatives, military and para military units, business corporations, etc. We hope to be able to involve, meet and get acquainted with initiatives, which are seeking dialogue, discussion and mutual communication in general, not necessarily via strategy of "networking". Networking is not the overall focus of the Forum as you suggest. It is needless to say that community media and networking are influenced by financial support, and are partly dependant on bureaucratic interests and structures or activists interests and visions. But the fact that many individuals from wide range of places and languages are exploring possibilities to express their views via the "institution" of "community" is the proof that the process is growing from the inside.

A recent study by Mark Surman and Katherine Reilly commissioned by the Social Science Research Council says that "This issue of appropriation - using networked technologies strategically, politically, creatively – is amongst the most pressing that civil society faces in the information society. The big question is: what should we do with these networked technologies now that we have access to them? ... By all accounts, the broad majority of civil society organizations are struggling with the issue of how to mold these tools to meet their needs - to increase the impact of campaigns, projects and programs using networked technologies. Or, in many cases, they are simply using them without any thought about where and how these technologies fit into the political work for which they feel so much passion. It is not that these organizations use networked technologies completely without question or critique, but rather that they don't take the time to consider how they can be using these

technologies most strategically.” (Surman and Reilly, Appropriating the Internet for Social Change, SSRC, November 2003) Anybody who is working from inside the communication apparatus is facing the seduction to perceive the problems from a “technical” perspective as a “software” solution. “New media activism”, and for example some wings of the anti-globalist movement are often leading to the feeling of self-sufficient prophecy, singular interest defence, messianism and neglecting towards “ordinary people”. The chance to cultivate the community with appropriate use of media, and achieve a growing impact means to abandon elitist or “avant-gardist” attitudes of the Artist. It means to approach (and understand) a broader public with an old and best tool for networking: “solidarity”. There will be no cultivation, rejuvenation and evolution of community media without a continuous fertilized platform ready to accept hybrid forms; a platform which allows to look and reach beyond the borders.

Dosta sa razmenama! Umetnost, molim!

Lučeazar Boyadjiev

Ekspanzija kulturnog sektora ka zapadu započela je ranih devedesetih. Siroti zalučeni kuratori sa zapada počeli su da hrle na naše obale odmah nakon pada Berlinskog zida. Širom otvorenih očiju i umova punih već utvrđenih, iz knjiga preuzetih ideja o Socijalističkom Svetu, ovi dragi ljudi su želeli da nesto saznaju. U početku smo mislili da žele da saznaju šta se zaista desilo svima nama nakon Drugog svetskog rata i nakon 1989-te. Ali, ispostavilo se da u stvari žele da saznaju šta se zapravo desilo njima, njihovim utopijskim snovima, nakon što je realnost, koju nikada nisu poznavali iz prve ruke, propala. Problem je bio, i još uvek je u tome što se ta potreba retko, možda nikada, ne priznaje u javnosti. Vidite, po njihovom shvatanju mi smo ih izneverili tako što smo odbili da funkcionišemo kao dokaz iz druge ruke o činjenici da je bolje i pravednije društvo/svet moguće na sadašnjem stupnju ljudskog razvoja. Ti dragi ljudi nikada nisu javno priznali da je raspad realnog socijalizma i socijalističke utopije kakvu mi (ne oni) znamo iz većeg dela 20tog veka imala uticaja na njih isto koliko i na nas. Privatno, ljudi kao što je Frederik Džejmson (Frederic Jameson) priznali bi (za vreme kursa o postmodernoj filozofiji u Dubrovniku, oktobra 1990-te) da se “Mi, zapadni levičari intelektualci, moramo suočiti sa neuspehom i razviti etiku neuspeha”. U javnosti, ljudi kao što su Katrin David (Catherine David) nagovestili bi (u uredničkom tekstu ‘Politika/Poetika. Dokumenta X – knjiga, 1997) da su postojanje i aktivnosti istočno-evropskih disidentskih pokreta pre 1989-te bili razlog za propast francuskog pokreta levice tokom 70tih i 80tih. Vidite, neki francuski intelektualci levice bili su na strani Partije u socijalističkim zemljama, dok su drugi bili na strani disidenata. To je prouzrokovalo razdor u pokretu i “Desnica” je ušetala na ‘belom konju’. Pitam se – čiji život smo uopšte živeli/živimo?

Ono što se desilo nakon toga je da je dokazni materijal za neuspeh realnog socijalizma donet u izložbene prostore i počeo da kruži po umetničkim kolonijama zapadne Evrope i SAD radi detaljnijeg ispitivanja. Govorim o umetnicima i umetničkim delima. Tačnije, to je ono što su oni mislili. U stvari, ovo pomeranje bilo je deo ekspanzije istočno-evropskih umetničkih scena ka zapadu, koje je, usput rečeno, finansirano novcem poreznika iz zapadne Evrope i SAD. Nije loša taktika, zar se ne biste složili? U situaciji kada je malo njih bilo zaista zainteresovano da sazna šta se zapravo dogodilo ili kakve su specifične karakteristike savremene umetnosti u istočnoj Evropi, mi smo rado počeli da ‘prodajemo leš komunizma’ komad po komad. Za to je postojalo tržište do, rekao bih 1995-te godine, kada je postalo očigledno da je trenutna stvarnost mnogo interesantnija od nedavne prošlosti. Ali to je bilo tako nama, a ne njima. Oni su se ohladili i hteli su da čuju samo o represijama, ne o društvenim dobrotinama socijalizma, koliko god da su te dobrobiti bile zbrkane i kratkotrajne. Suočeni sa neodložnim brigama transformacije i govoru o članstvu u NATO-u i EU, o menjajućem društvenom sklopu, o stvaranju tržišne ekonomije i parlamentarne demokratije, činilo nam se da nam je najbolja šansa da se držimo onoga što jesmo a da ipak izgradimo relevantan savremen program u tome da tvrdimo, kao što glasi anegdota popularna u to vreme u Bugarskoj, da “smo samo izabrali najteži put ka kapitalizmu, preko socijalizma” ali zašto smo dođavola to morali da uradimo? “Njima” to nije bilo dovoljno interesantno. Kapitalizam, kao materijal stvarnosti za umetničko istraživanje, bio je, a i sada je, mnogo bolje razvijen na Zapadu; zašto bi se onda kurator bavio istočno-evropskim umetnikom da bi mu/joj ovaj pričao o kapitalizmu? Još jednom, nisu shvatili poentu, jer kao stradalnici utopije, mi smo mnogo bolje opremljeni za bavljenje poređenjem između socijalizma (onakvog kakav smo mi znali) i kapitalizma (onakvog kakav smo počeli ‘izgrađivati’). Oni nikada nisu imali tu priliku. Bili su naivni, i po mnogo čemu još uvek su naivni kada se radi o “najboljem iz oba sveta”. Ekspanzija ka zapadu se nastavila mada ovoga puta nošena naporima individualnih umetnika; više nije bilo masivnog interesovanja i izvoza. U tom trenutku, 1995-te, “njihovo” interesovanje okrenulo se ka ne-evropskim, prvenstveno azijskim scenama. Pogledajte prvo Gwangju bijenale u južnoj Koreji u septembru 1995. godine i odmah za njim, Istanbulske bijenale u Turskoj novembra 1995. Ova dva događaja predstavila su umetnike sa dalekog istoka kao i iz muslimanskih zemalja. Posebno je Istanbulske bijenale 1995-te godine predstavilo mnoge umetnike iz muslimanskih zemalja, mada su izlagali i mnogi umetnici sa Balkana.

U narednim godinama, ekspanzija ka zapadu poprimala je različite oblike. Na jednom nivou, to su bili ravnopravniji i recipročniji oblici jer sada smo postali “mudrac” koji nema mnogo toga da kaže ali je prošao kroz mnogo toga (otud učešća u konferencijama) i stoga ga mogu pozivati na izložbe na osnovu “samo umetnosti, ne egzoticizma”. Međutim, s druge strane, postalo je vidljivo da razlike nisu tako velike kako se to ranije činilo – našim kolegama na Zapadu bilo je isto tako teško da žive kao umetnici, kao i nama. Naravno, privremeni posao da finansiraju svoje projekte, zar ne? Međutim, trenutak najvećeg prosvetljenja bio je kada smo shvatili da hiljade umetnika širom sveta preživljava samo zahvaljujući umetničkim kolonijama, državnoj pomoći u obliku stipendija (vidi Holandiju 90tih), ili kupovini umetničkih radova (vidi FRAC sistem u Francuskoj), i tako dalje. Socijalistički sistem podrške umetnosti, kakav smo imali pre 1989, imao je svoje mane (zbog ideološki motivisane pozadine), pa ipak je postojao i na naše zaprepašćenje, otkrili smo da Zapad ima mnogo praktičnog znanja i iskustva u toj oblasti. Problem je bio u tome što smo tražili znake tržišne realizacije u radovima svojih kolega sa Zapada i u toliko mnogo slučajeva nismo mogli da ih nađemo. Vrlo mali broj nas je uspeo da dobije galerijske predstavnike na Zapadu i da izgradi svoje prisustvo na tržištu. Vrlo mali broj naših kolega na Zapadu je to uspeo. Dakle, to je nešto što očigledno nije važno samo za istočno-evropske umetnike.

Druga polovina 90tih bila je obeležena dolaskom alternativnih strategija i mesta za ekspanziju (infiltraciju, ako hoćete). To je bio kontekst novih medija, kontekst video festivala, na kraju, iluzija da možda postoji nešto van i iznad neophodnosti tržišta. Još jednom se ispostavilo da je to domen, kako istoka tako i zapada. To je bio alternativni kontekst u odnosu na kontekst moći u stvarnom internacionalnom umetničkom svetu. Taj kontekst je učinio mnogo toga dobrog. Promovisao je mnoge umetnike, a i kada nije, ipak je pomogao da se izgradi samopouzdanje i mnoge mreže koje su bile alternativno rešenje. Naravno, i ovo je bila sponzorisan aktivnost i najbolje akcije alternativne mreže čiji sam bio deo krajem 90tih, takozvanog V_2 istočnog sindikata (V_2 East Syndicate), dogodile su se u kontekstu “dokumente X” 1997. godine (radionica “Deep Europe workshop in the Hybrid Workspace”). Ironično, zar ne?

Velika količina aktivnosti u ovom kontekstu kraja 90-tih odvijala se uporedo sa gorućim događajima u Evropi – krajnjim fazama raspada Jugoslavije, tog “mini-carstva” Istoka. Malo po malo, novi razmeštaj faktora je ušao u igru. Ne više istočna Evropa nego Balkan, iako ratovi u bivšoj Jugoslaviji nikada nisu bili zaista Balkanski ratovi kao oni sa početka 20-tog veka. U to vreme već smo bili shvatili da je strategija ne-direktne ekspanzije (oni misle da vrše ‘invaziju’ nad nama dok mi znamo da ih zapravo zavaravamo kako bi nas pustili unutra) bila uspešna. Jasan znak bio je da je finansiranje krenulo drugim pravcem. Pre toga, finansiranje je uglavnom bilo usmereno ka događajima na Zapadu. Krajem 90-tih finansiranje je promenilo pravac i bilo je dosta novca na raspolaganju za projekte organizovane na tačkama istočno od austrijsko-mađarske granice. Zašto? Pa, umesto stvaranja mogućnosti za umetnike iz istočne Evrope da izlažu na Zapadu i tako oprobaju svoj tržišni uspeh, što bi moglo voditi potencijalno štetnim nivoima emigracije, neko je smislio da je mnogo bolje sponzorirati događaje na mestima gde ti umetnici zapravo žive i rade. To znači – držati ih zaokupljene i srećne tamo gde su. I bili smo/jesmo. Ali problem je sada sa proširenjem Evropske unije. Izgleda da je sve to finansiranje za umetničke događaje u zapadnoj Evropi, na kojima su učestvovali umetnici iz istočne Evrope između 1989. i 2004. godine, poticalo iz fondova “pre-priključenja EU”. Međutim, problem je u tome što je proces pregovaranja pogrešan. U slučaju Bugarske, počeli su sa četiri poglavlja. Poglavlje broj jedan koje je zatvoreno (navodno sve je bilo u redu sa tačke gledišta EU) bila je “Kultura”. Međutim, u Bugarskoj državna kulturna politika ne samo da je konzervativna, bez pridavanja ikakve pažnje savremenoj kulturi, sa mnogo pažnje posvećene nacionalnom kulturnom nasleđu (koje je ograničeno na hrišćansko nasleđe, u zemlji koja između ostalog ima i mnogobrojnu muslimansku manjinu) – ona jednostavno ne postoji. Znači, ponovo moramo da razmišljamo o ekspanziji, ali ovoga puta ne moramo ništa da radimo jer EU će doći kod nas, a ne mi kod njih.

Nažalost, taj argument je možda zastareo. Desio se 11. septembar, i dok sam gledao CNN uživo u vreme udara, moj prvi impuls bio je “Oh, želim da sada budem u Americi”. Stvar je u tome da sam živeo u SAD skoro pet godina, tu i tamo, i nikada ranije nisam osetio takav poriv. Nakon 11/9, pomislio sam, svi smo mi “Zapad”. Učinili su od nas “Zapad”. Čak je i Turska, muslimanska zemlja sa arapskom tradicijom, zahvaljujući nasleđstvu Otomanskog carstva (državni arhiv u Otomanskom carstvu bio je na arapskom, s druge strane, Bugarska je bila pod Otomanskom dominacijom od 1396. do 1876.), postala deo “Zapada” nakon bombi u Istanbulu decembra 2003. Sada zaista nije važno da li je Bugarska pravno u okviru EU ili NATO-a. Psihološki – nema razlike, u ekonomskom smislu – ima, uopšteno gledajući; ali kada su umetnici u pitanju – nema, i to je bezuslovno tako jer tržište za umetničke radove je isto za sve. Međutim, za umetnika je dobro da živi blizu svoje galerije u Londonu, Njujorku, Berlinu ili Parizu bez obzira odakle je – iz Sofije, Dalasa/Fort Vorta, Braunsvajga ili Teherana. Kao deo takozvanog Zapada veoma me interesuju umetničke scene Bejruta, Damaska, Jerusalima i druge. Ono što je po meni bitno jeste to da je savremena umetnost urbana i kosmopolitiska. Zato hoću da znam nešto više o umetnicima, kuratorima, radovima u urbanim centrima gde god da se nalaze. Jer urbanim centrima su zajedničke izvesne osobine i na nama je da otkrijemo šta nam je zajedničko a gde se razlikujemo = kosmopolitiski. Diskurs o Istoku i Zapadu je duboko zastareo, kao što to znamo sa početka 90-tih. Mislim da su mi bolje šanse da me smatraju egzotičnim ako insistiram na svom balkanskom identitetu (na kraju krajeva, na Balkanu ima puno muslimana). Kad malo bolje razmislim, ne, ne želim više da budem egzotičan. Hoću samo da ‘umetnujem’. I molim vas, prestanimo sa tim razmenama! Simbolična razmena je previše dugo trajala (mi vam damo telo, a vi nama date novac i izlaz iz istočno-evropskog geta), vreme je da započnemo poštnu i fer tržišnu razmenu – hoćete arapske umetnike (?), ili balkanske umetnike (?) ili istočno-evropske umetnike (?), e pa onda ćete platiti za svoj kapris, kao što i ja moram da plaćam svojim životom i radovima činjenicu što nisam rođen u Berlinu ili Stuttgartu.

Zašto dođavola niko ne spominje činjenicu da švajcarski umetnici izlažu na internacionalnoj izložbi u Parizu? Zašto se uvek napominje kada učestvuju arapski umetnici ili balkanski umetnici ili istočno-evropski umetnici? Šta je to švajcarski umetnik? Usput, volim rad švajcarske umetnice Pippilotti Rist, koja uostalom živi u Los Angelesu.

Pariz, februar, 2004

Objavljeno u časopisu “IFA-Stuttgart”

No more exchange! Art, please!

Lučeazar Boyadjiev

The Westward expansion in the cultural sector started in the early 1990ies. Poor misguided western curators started flocking to our shores right after the Berlin Wall fell down. With their eyes wide open and minds full of pre-conceived and book-based notions about the Socialist World, these darlings wanted to find out something... At first we all thought they wanted to find out what had actually happened to all of us after WW II and after 1989. As it turned out, all they wanted was to find out what had actually happened to them, to their utopian dreams after the reality, which they never knew first hand, collapsed. The problem was and still is that this need has rarely, if ever, been admitted in public. You see, in their view we had betrayed them by refusing to function as “by proxy” evidence to the fact that a better and more just society/world is possible at the current stage of human progress. Those darlings never admitted in public that the collapse of real socialism and the socialist utopia as we (not them) knew it during the better part of the 20th c. affected them as much as it affected us. In private people like Frederic Jameson would admit (during a course on Postmodern Philosophy in Dubrovnik, October 1990) that “We, western leftist intellectuals, must face up to and develop the ethics of failure”... In public, people like Catherine David would hint that (in the Editorial Text of “Politics/Poetics. documenta X – the book”, 1997) the existence and the activities of the Eastern European dissident movements before 1989 was the reason for the destruction of the French Left movement in the 1970-1980ies. You see some French leftist intellectuals sided with the Party Line in the Socialist countries while others - with the dissidents. That caused a split in the movement and the Right walked in “on a white horse”... It makes me wonder - whose life were/are we living anyway?

What happened afterwards was that the evidential material for the failure of real socialism was brought to the exhibition halls and the residency circuits of Western Europe and the US for closer examination... I am talking about artists and art works. Well, that’s what they thought... In fact, this shift was part of the westward expansion of Eastern European art scenes which, by the way, was paid for by the taxpayer’s money from Western Europe and the US. Not bad tactics, wouldn’t you say? In the situation where few people were really interested to find out what actually happened or what the specific characteristics of contemporary art in Eastern Europe are, we willingly started to “sell the corpse of Communism” piece by piece. There was a market for that until, I would say, 1995 at which point it became obvious that current reality is much more interesting than the recent past... But that was for us, not for them. They had cooled down and all they wanted to know about was the repressions, not the social benefits of socialism, as confused and short-lived as these might have been. In the face of the pressing concerns of transformation and talk about NATO and EU membership, of changing societal patterns, construction of market economy and parliamentary democracy, it seemed that our best chance for sticking to who we are and yet building up a relevant contemporary agenda was to maintain, in the words of an anecdote popular in Bulgaria at that time, that “...we simply chose to take the hardest road to capitalism, via socialism... but why the hell did we have to do that?” For “them” this was not interesting enough. Capitalism, as a reality material to be investigated by artists, was/is much better developed in the West so why would a curator deal with an Eastern European artist to tell him/her about capitalism? Once again, they missed the point for as survivors of utopia we were much better equipped to deal with comparisons between socialism (the way we knew it) and capitalism (the way we started to “build it up”). They never had this chance. They were naïve, and in many ways still are, about “the best of both worlds”... The westward expansion went on although this time it was carried through the efforts of individual artists, there were no more mass interest and export. At this point, 1995, “their” interest shifted to the non-European and primarily Asian scenes... Witness the first Gwangju Biennial in South Korea in September 1995 and the immediately following Istanbul Biennial in Turkey in November 1995. Those were two events that introduced artists from the Far East, as well as artists from Muslim countries. The Istanbul Biennial from 1995 in particular, introduced many female artists from Muslim countries although it featured many artists from the Balkans as well.

In the following years the westward expansion took different forms. On one level, these were rather more equal and reciprocal for we were now “the wise man” who hadn’t much to say but have been through a lot (hence, conference participations) and consequently could be invited to exhibitions on the basis of “just art not exoticism”. On the other hand though, it became visible that differences are not as big as it seemed before – our colleagues in the West were having as many difficulties making a living as artists as we did... Of course, a part-time job in Switzerland would bring in significantly more income than a part-time job in Sofia, Moscow or Prague, but still, most artists need a part-time job to finance their project, right? The most enlightening moment though was when we realized that thousands of artists all over the world survive only because of residencies, state support in the form of stipends (see Holland in the 1990ies) or purchases of art works (see the FRAC system in France), and so on. The socialist system of support for the arts, as we had that before 1989, was flowed (due to its ideologically motivated background), yet it was there and to our amazement we learned that the West does have a lot of practical knowledge and experience in the field. The problem was that we were looking for signs of the market realization in the works of our colleagues from the West and in so many cases we couldn’t find these... Very few of us managed to get gallery representations in the West and to build up market presence... Very few of our colleagues in the West managed the same thing. So, that was something that was obviously not restricted to the Eastern European artists alone...

The second half of the 1990ies was marked by the advent of alternative strategies and venues for expansion (infiltration, if you wish). That was the new media context, the video festivals context, at the end, the illusion that there might be something outside and beyond the market necessity. Once again this field turned out to be the domain of East and West alike. It was an alternative context to the power context of the real international art world. It did a lot of good... It promoted a lot of artists and when it did not, still it helped build up self-confidence and many networks that were the alternative. Of course, this was also sponsored activity and the best actions of the alternative network I was part of in the late 1990ies, the so called V_2 East Syndicate, took place in the context of documenta X in 1997 (the Deep Europe workshop in the Hybrid Workspace)... That is ironical, no?

The great amount of activity in this context in the late 1990ies went along with the most pressing developments in Europe – the final stages of disintegration of Yugoslavia, that mini-empire of the East. Little by little a new disposition of factors came to play. No longer Eastern Europe but the Balkans, although the wars in ex-Yugoslavia were never really Balkan wars like they were in the early 20th century. By that time we realized that the strategy of non-direct expansion (they think they are “invading” us while we know we are tricking them into letting us in...) had worked. A clear sign was that funding took a different direction... Previously funding was directed mainly to events taking place in the West. In the late 1990ies funding shifted direction and there was quite a lot of money available for projects organized in points east of the Austrian-Hungarian border... Why? Well, instead of creating opportunities for artists from Eastern Europe to exhibit in the West and thus risk their market success, which might lead to potentially damaging levels of emigration, somebody figured it's much better to sponsor events in the places where the artists in question actually live and work. This means – keep them occupied and happy where they are. And we were/are... But the problem now is with the EU expansion. It seems now that all that funding for art events in Western Europe that included artists from Eastern Europe between 1989 and 2004 came from “pre-accession” funds... The problem though is that the process of negotiations is wrong. In the case of Bulgaria they started with four chapters. The number one chapter that was closed (presumably all was OK from the point of view of EU) was “Culture”. In Bulgaria though the state policies for culture are not only conservative without any attention paid to contemporary culture and a lot of attention given to national cultural heritage (which is restricted only to Christian heritage in a country that has a large Muslim minority, among others). They simply do not exist... So, once again we must think of expansion...but this time around we do not have to do anything because the EU will come to us, not the other way around...

Unfortunately, that argument may just be outdated. There was the 9.11 and, as I was watching CNN live at the time of the hits, my first impulse was: “Oh, I want to be American now...” The thing is that I have lived in the States for nearly 5 years, on and off, and never before did I experience such an urge... After 9.11, I thought, we are all - “the West”... They made us be “the West”... And even Turkey, which is a Muslim country with Arab background due to its Ottoman Empire heritage (state archives in the Ottoman Empire were in Arabic, on the other side, Bulgaria was between 1396 and 1876 under Ottoman domination), became part of “the West” after the bombings in Istanbul in December 2003. Now it doesn't really matter anymore if Bulgaria is or is not legally within the EU and NATO... Psychologically - there is no difference; in terms of economy – yes, in general; but wherever artists are concerned – no, and that's unconditional because the market for art works is the same for all. However, it might be a good idea for an artist to live near his/her gallery in London, New York, Berlin or Paris no matter where he/she comes from – Sofia, Dallas/Forth Worth, or Braunschweig... or Teheran for that matter. As part of the so-called West I am very much interested to know about the Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem and so on art scenes. For me what matters is that contemporary art is an urban and a cosmopolitan thing. So, I want to know more about artists, curators and works in urban centers wherever they might happen to be located. Because urban centers share some characteristics and it's up to us to find out what do we have in common or in difference = cosmopolitan. The East/West discourse is deeply outdated, as we knew it from the early 1990ies. I think I have a better chance to be considered exotic if I insist on my Balkan identity...after all there are a lot of Muslims in the Balkans... On second thought, no, I do not want to be exotic anymore. I just want to “art”. And please, let's stop with that exchange stuff! The symbolic exchange went on for far too long (we give you the corpse, you give us the money and the way out of the EE ghetto), it is time to have some honest and fair market exchange – you want Arab artists (?), or Balkan artists (?), or Eastern European artists (?), well then, you are going to have to pay for your caprice...just as all the time I have to pay with my life and works for the fact that I was not born in Berlin or Stuttgart.

Why the hell doesn't anybody mention the fact that there are Swiss artists in an international show organized in Paris? Why the hell is it always mentioned when there are Arabic artists or Balkan artists or Eastern European artists included? What is a Swiss artist? By the way, I love the work of the Swiss artist Pipilotti Rist who lives in Los Angeles anyway.

February 2004, Paris
for IFA-Stuttgart journal

“(Konstantno) biti Mobilan kao Model opstanka” Slučaj “NOMAD”

Basak Senova

Mobilnost je utkana u sam čin savremene produkcije, bez obzira da li je percipirana ili ne. Čak i u pre-determinisanim produktivnim procesima u kojima su svi parametri proračunati i stabilni, postoji jedna vrsta dinamike koja omogućuje realizaciju krajnjeg proizvoda. Ipak, to nije samo fizička već i mentalna stvar. Sam čin produkovanja traži pravac koji je konstantno mobilan. Stoga, da bi produkovali – svesno ili nesvesno – neophodno je da vam mobilnost ne bude strana.

NOMAD, sam po sebi, je rođen iz haotičnog stanja mobilnosti. Kao i stanje iz kojega je potekao, uslovi koji su okruživali živote dvoje osnivača su bili definisani tranzicijom. Jedan je bio između stanja privremene autonomije, a drugi je, opet, načinio fizički ali ne i psihološki skok. New York, Ankara, London, Amsterdam i Istanbul su imena upletenih gradova.

Faze istraživanja, uslovi i mogućnosti određuju kvalitet produkcije. Ipak, uvek postoji potencijal da se pronađu bolji uslovi i mogućnosti tako što će se oblast interesovanja i polje produkcije preneti na drugu lokaciju.

Predstava u Gracu, Austrija je postala prvi praktičan dokaz realizacije mobilnosti kao uslova za rad. Nakon shvatanja da uobičajen tim kustosa nije dovoljan u grupu su uključeni grafički dizajneri i arhitekti. Oni su zajednički proizveli izložbu: NOMAD je oživeo.

Akumulativna produkcija je povezana sa više rada i više umrežavanja. Što više stvarate, više unosa(input) će vam biti potrebno. Što više čvorišta na istoj frekvenciji pronađete, više ćete obogatiti produkciju. Ovo se odnosi na rad u mrežno struktuiranom poslu: biti sposoban za skok sa jednog čvorišta na drugo, u moru većito promjenljivih čvorišta.

NOMAD ima za cilj da stvara i eksperimentiše sa novim obrascima u sferi savremene umetnosti kroz različite prizme drugih disciplina. Srž formacije čine dizajneri, inženjeri, arhitekti, kustosi i pisci. Iz ovoga se vidi da je infrastruktura bazirana na tehničkim i teoretskim nivoima, kako bi obezbedila saradnju sa udruženjima umetnika.

Biti mobilan takođe ima i društvenu i kulturnu dimenziju. Tehnička realnost i realnost vezana za produkciju primoravaju na mobilnost, ali ne mogu biti anticipirane ako ne postoji društvena dimenzija. Stoga, mobilnost ne može biti svedena na kompetentne poteze u geografski determinisanom prostoru. Štaviše, društvena oblast je podjednako dinamična kao i tehnička oblast: u percepciji društvene postavke rezultat je spontana promena.

Bilo je jednostavno uraditi vizuelni projekat, čak je i jednostavnije bilo postaviti običnu predstavu u jedan od “umetničkih prostora”, ali je bilo nemoguće pričati o umetnosti zvuka unutar lokalne mreže. Čak su u izvesnom momentu, imali osećaj da su izgubili osećaj za geografiju. Kada su završili projekat, bio je među prvima u Turskoj. Ipak su uspeli da realizuju ceo projekat tako što su bili fizički i mentalno mobilni... gurajući čvorišta mreže (pushing the nodes of the network).

Šta ako je dinamika i/ili mobilnost određenog prostora brža od vašeg tempa?

Šta ako je prostor mnogo zamućeniji od vaših konkretnih definicija?

Sada govorimo o Istambulu; to je ogroman, otuđen organizam, koji se konstantno širi, ali i urušava. Svaki pokušaj da se obuhvati ili uđe u trag celosti grada, bio bi prespor u poređenju sa brzinom njegovog rasta. Opstanak je moguć samo ako znate kako da se nosite sa ovim nesigurnim terenom, koji konstantno preispituje samog sebe kroz spontanu i neposrednu postavku disocijacija. NOMAD teče sa ovom realnošću grada.

Vas kontrolišu. Grad u kojem ste...u tom trenutku se kontroliše. Već ste okruženi sa velikim brojem mreža, kao što su sistem identifikacije putem kreditnih kartica, GPS ili centralizovane mreže mobilne telefonije, elektromagnetni talasi i stanice za emitovanje, IP mreže kompjutera i kamere za nadgledanje.

Unutar urbanog konteksta, NOMAD identifikuje neočekivani potencijal “nekontrolisanih aspekata” sistema kao odlučujućih faktora novog slučajnog poretka. Delovi sistema koji ne funkcionišu, ili čak jednostavna greška na grafikonu protoka stvara osobenost. U ovom trenutku “neispravan aspekt” postaje snaga koja najviše ugrožava sa najvećim potencijalom za dominacijom nad sistemom.

Nako može percipirati moć kao nešto što se nalazi svuda, bez centra, nadovezujući se na Hardt-a and Negri-ja, nagoveštavajući Deleuze-a i Guattari-ja. Mobilna čvorišta moći bi mogla aktivirati produktivnu grešku u operativnoj logici isušene kugle poznog kapitalizma. Čak i najmanje iščašenje može doseći proporcije od velikog značaja: leptir efekat.

Kroz različita i lutajuća ispitivanja savremene umetnosti, NOMAD želi da razvije sposobnost za proizvodnju sadržaja i prikupljanja materijala i tehnika. Operativna logika NOMAD-a se bazira na povezanosti. Povezujući ideje, projekte, tehnike, funkcionalnosti i lokacija u vremenu i prostoru.

Kontroverzne lokacije, slučajevi i situacije. Stvarati je zahvalnije nego prigravarati ili takmičiti se. Međutim, u procesu stvaranja, prolazak pored statičnih sklopova mozga i svojevrsnih mentalnih prepreka je izazovniji od fizičkih prepreka. Mobilni modaliteti produkcije uvek imaju potencijal da upropaste šeptriljave i predvidive aplikacije koje se proizvode u sistemu.

“(Constantly) being Mobile as A Mode of Survival” The Case of NOMAD

Basak Senova

Mobility is inscribed in the very act of contemporary production, whether perceived or not. Even in pre-determined productive processes in which all the parameters are calculated and stable, there is a kind of dynamic which enables the realization of the end product. Yet, it is not only physical, but also mental. The very act of producing needs a direction that is constantly mobile. Therefore, in order to produce - conscious or unconscious - familiarity with “mobility” is a requirement.

NOMAD itself is born out of a chaotic state of mobility. At its original state, the conditions surrounding the lives of the two founders were defined by transition. One was in between stations of temporary autonomy; the other one had made a jump physically but not psychologically. New York, Ankara, London, Amsterdam and Istanbul were the names of the cities involved.

The phases of research, conditions, and possibilities all determine the quality of production. Yet, there is always a potential to find better conditions and possibilities, by dragging the area of interest and the production field to a different location.

A show in Graz, Austria became the first practical proof of this realization of mobility as a working condition. After realizing that a customary curatorial team was not sufficient, graphic designers and architects were included in the group. They produced the exhibition together: NOMAD came alive.

Accumulative production is linked to more labour and more networking. The more you produce, the more input you would need. The more you find nodes in the same frequency, the more you would enrich a production. This is working in the network architecture: being able to jump from node to node, in a sea of ever-changing nodes.

NOMAD aims to produce and experiment with new patterns in the contemporary art sphere by using various lenses of other disciplines. The core of the formation consists of designers, engineers, architects, curators and writers. Therefore, the infrastructure is based on technical and theoretical levels, in order to provide collaborations with affiliations of artists.

Being mobile has social and cultural dimensions as well. Technical and production-related realities force mobility, yet they could not be anticipated if there were no social dimensions. Hence, “mobility” cannot be limited to competent actions in a geographically determined space. Furthermore, the social realm is as dynamic as the technical realm: spontaneous changes do occur as a result, in the perception of a social configuration.

It was easy to do a visual project, it was even easier to just put an ordinary show in one of the “art spaces”, but it was impossible to talk about sound art within the local network. Even at a certain point, they felt that they had already lost track with geography. When they completed the project, it was among the first in Turkey. Yet they managed to realize all of the projects through being physically and also mentally mobile...pushing the nodes of the network.

What if the movement and/or the mobility of a determined space is faster than your pace?
What if the space is much more blurred than your concrete definitions?

Now we are talking about Istanbul; it is an alienated giant organism, which is continuously expanding yet imploding. Any attempt to grasp or trace the totality of the city would be far too slow for the speed of its growing process. Survival is only possible if you know how to cope with this shaky ground, which constantly hacks itself through the spontaneous and immediate set-up of dissociations. NOMAD flows with this reality of the city.

You are being controlled. The city wherein you're located... at that very moment is being controlled. You are already surrounded by a multitude of networks, such as credit card identifying info systems, GPS or centralised mobile phone networks, electromagnetic waves with broadcasting stations, IP networks of computers, and surveillance cameras.

Within the urban context, NOMAD identifies the unexpected potential of the “uncontrollable aspects” of the system as determining factors of a new casual order. Malfunctioning aspects of the system, or even a simple error in the flowchart creates a singularity. At this point, the “malfunctioning aspect” becomes the most threatening power with the greatest potential to dominate the system.

One can perceive power as being everywhere without a centre, following Hardt and Negri ensuing Deleuze and Guattari. Mobile nodes of power could activate a productive defect in the operation logic of the desiccated late capitalist globe. Even a twist can grow to make a big difference: the butterfly effect.

Through diverse and erratic inspections in contemporary art, NOMAD aims at developing the ability to fabricate content and to generate material and techniques. The operation logic of NOMAD is based on connectivity. Connecting ideas, projects, techniques, functionalities, and locations across time and space.

Controversial locations, cases, and situations. To produce is more rewarding than to object, or to contest. Nevertheless, while producing, getting past the static mindsets and opinionated mental blocks are more challenging than the physical obstructions. Mobile modes of production always have the potential to crash clumsy and predictable applications running in the system.

BORDER04 Prelazeći granice iz Stvarne u Virtuelnu Evropu

Florian Schneider

Svako, ako i ne zna ništa drugo, zna da će Evropa promeniti svoj oblik na prelasku iz jednog dana u drugi, 1. maja 2004, kada će novih deset država pristupiti Evropskoj uniji. Strah i nada postoje iz jednog prostog razloga: izgleda kao da neke granice nestaju. Ovo je zvanična verzija ili polu-istina, ako hoćete.

Ali šta će se zaista dogoditi? Gde se granice premeštaju i kako ovakav razvoj događaja utiče na ljude koji su radili i živeli od granica, uz granice, protiv granica ili preko granica?

U sledećih nekoliko meseci, nezavisna međunarodna interdisciplinarna komisija će početi sa istraživanjem realnosti oko novih evropskih granica: medijski aktivisti koji deluju protiv granica, filmski i video stvaraoci, fotografi, DJ-evi i VJ-evi, umetnici, naučnici i istraživači, pokrenuće seriju dešavanja koja okružuju, zaobilaze i perforiraju granice Evrope.

BORDER04 je virtualno putovanje duž obe strane granica proširene Evropske unije, od Balkana do baltičkih država. BORDER04 će povezati i spojiti projekte, aktivnosti i debate o migracijama i proširenju granica Evropske unije. Diskutovaće se o pitanjima mobilnosti, mobilnim tehnologijama i slobodi kretanja i slobodi komunikacije. Ispitaće se proporcije do kojih će se umrežavanje razviti u budućnosti, njegov uticaj na ljude koji žive unutar granica EU, i onih koji su prethodno, privremeno ili za stalno van njenih granica.

BORDER04 je nastao iz pokreta koji je organizovao i promovisao kampove bez granica (Noborder Camps) u proteklih šest godina. Kada je u julu 1998. nekoliko hiljada aktivista postavilo svoje šatore i pripremlilo se za desetodnevno kampovanje blizu Goerlitz-a - samo nekoliko metara od granične reke Neisse – dogodio se presedan i tokom sledećih godina broj letnjih kampova duž spoljnih granica Evropske unije se umnožio.

Ipak, sve to se nije dešavalo samo zbog logorske vatre i romantike. Umesto “Povratak prirodi”, moto je bio “Hakirati granicu!”. Karakteristika graničnih kampova je to što su imali multiplu strategiju koja se sastojala od razmene znanja, sposobnosti, iskustava i političkih debata – manje više tradicionalnog političkog obrazovanja koja se dešavala na udaljenim mestima - i direktnim akcijama sa ciljem da se prekine svakodnevni uobičajeni režim rada granice.

Do sada se desilo više od 25 “Kampova bez granica”, lociranih što je bliže moguće pravoj granici: još od prve beta verzije na nemačko-poljskoj granici 1998, do zajedničke evropske u Strazburu 2002 sa nekoliko hiljada učesnika; od Tihuane na severozapadu Meksika do Vumere u australijskoj pustinji; od međunarodnog aerodroma u Frankfurtu sa svojim kaznenim centrom na ničijoj zemlji, do centralnih baza podataka o strancima u Kelnu; od Tarifa na ulicama Gibraltara do Frassanita na ulicama Otranta.

Prošle godine tokom trajanja “Kampa bez granica” u malom gradu u Rumuniji, desilo se nešto zapanjujuće. Sasvim slučajno, neki mladić je prošao pored kampa. Radi za korporaciju koja proizvodi hardver za brendirane kompanije koje prave elektronske komponente u blizini mađarsko-srpske granice.

Ispricao je priču o neuspehu pokušaju da ujedini sve radnike u sindikat, opisao je začarani krug sa ogromnim simboličkim značenjem. Uhaćeni u zamku lokalizma, svaki pokušaj da se samo-organizuju nije vodio ničemu sem još većoj afirmaciji i povećanju moći korporacije koja radi na globalnom nivou i koja konstantno ucenjuje radnike i preti da će zatvoriti fabriku i preseliti proizvodnju u drugi deo sveta.

Nekoliko nedelja kasnije, grupa aktivista “Kampa bez granica” se vratila u Rumuniju da bi intervjuisali poljoprivrednike koje su upoznali ranije. Radnici su upravo dobili spor protiv nemačkog farmera, koji odbijao da im da nadnicu i ucenjivao ih njihovim ilegalnim statusom. Za neupućene, ova priča deluje iznenađujuće. Zašto onda ne podeliti ovakva iskustva sa drugima koji žive pod istim ili sličnim uslovima?

Da li su ova dva slučaja samo izuzeci, ili su primer toga kako se treba odnositi prema problemima duž i preko spoljnih granica Evrope? Najverovatnije ovo drugo. Iz oba ova razgovora rodila ideja da je možda vreme da se preoblikuje koncept “Kampa bez granica”.

Političke zasluge za stvaranje prvobitnog koncepta su odavno zastarele. Činilo se da ima smisla razmišljati o ponovnom, sada radikalnijem lansiranju u skladu sa različitim kriterijumima. Radije istraživanje nego protest; eksperimentisanje sa nepredvidivim pokretima i mobilnošću, nego recikliranje isušive predvidive gramatike binarnih sukoba; pokušaj stvaranja najveće moguće otvorenosti i znatiželje, nego statičan i hermetičan stav.

BORDER04 je zajednički okvir za određeni opseg lokalnih i udaljenih, mobilnih i statičnih aktivnosti koje će se desiti na leto 2004. godine. To je modularno, privremeno i taktičko udruženje različitih mrežnih i novomedijskih inicijativa, sa istočnih, zapadnih, južnih i severnih delova Evrope.

1. Tragom migracija radne snage

Različita lica migracija stvaraju i dramatične promene koje ne utiču samo na lokalnu ekonomiju, već i na ekonomiju zemalja koje nisu u direktnoj vezi sa migracionim područjem - ljudi u tranzitu, komunikatori između Istoka i Zapada, sezonski i domaći radnici proizašli iz novog koncepta Evrope, bazirani na mobilnosti, bilo da je neželjena ili nedobrovoljna.

Uprkos činjenici da je u sledećih sedam godina zabranjen slobodan protok radne snage, proširenje Evropske unije se može gledati kao *de facto* amnestiranje nekoliko stotina hiljada ilegalnih radnika, koji potiču iz deset država koje treba da pristupe EU, a koji makar privremeno ostaju u zemljama stare Evrope. Umesto od deportacije, ovi radnici će sada strahovati samo od kazni.

Najšire gledano, tako privilegovan, a opet ilegalan status može poslužiti kao kamen temeljac novonastajućeg načina menadžmenta radne snage, koji je postavljen tako da eksploatiše jeftinu, migrantsku radnu snagu bez osnovnih društvenih prava - novonastala forma hiper eksploatacije.

Prelazak granica između istoka i zapada, urbanih centara i *maquiladora* zona, prtljažne i tranzitne ekonomije, poljoprivredne i industrije osećanja, stvorice nove lutajuće subjektivite hiper-otuđenja, još uvek nepredvidive moći i potencijala.

2. Mapiranje međuprostora

Teoretski, to je samo mali odklon od onoga što leži izvan granica nacionalne imaginacije u odnosu na imaginaciju onih izvan tih granica. Ali u praksi, prostori između Evrope i ne-Evropske su disperzni, ekstrahovani i uslovljeni brojnim pokretima raznih aktera na nepoznatom i promenljivom polju.

Diseminacija prava društvenog, političkog i kulturnog menadžmenta se dovodi u vezu sa virtuelizacijom graničnog režima koji se više ne oslanja na operacije uključivanja i isključivanja. Stari pojam granice se postepeno zamenjuje visoko diferenciranim i fleksibilnim sistemom bio-političke kontrole različitog stepena intenziteta i gustine.

Kako naći i ucrtati linije pokreta koje zaobilaze paranoju i zatvorenost? Šta znači biti u kretanju ili u pokretu? Kako se procesi samo-organizacije konstituišu, čak i u ekstremnim situacijama kao što su kaznionice ili tranzitne čekaonice?

3. Prelazak granica iz stvarne u virtuelnu Evropu

Ne postoji Evropa i ne postoji Istok. Danas oba ova koncepta ne označavaju ništa drugo nego promašaj.

Napuštajući tradicionalne političke i geografske pojmove Evrope, prihvatamo informacione i komunikacione tehnologije i tok migracija koje oblikuju virtuelnu Evropu, definisanu svojom otvorenošću pre nego granicama.

Postoji mnoštvo Evropa koje se ne daju predstaviti, a nastale su iz nedavnih borbi društvenih pokreta, iz autonomije radnika migranata i migranata bez papira, iz iskustava društvenog umrežavanja i kreativnosti širom granica.

Radeći na ova tri polja, BORDER04 će se sastojati od četiri modula koji će biti razvijeni i sprovedeni od strane nezavisnih timova, koji su međusobno umreženi.

A Istraživanje:

Kako bi istražila subjektivitet nove generacije Evropljana i konstitutivnu moć mladih ljudi umreženih širom granica, istraživačka ekipa će raditi na često postavljanim pitanjima: Kako redizajnirani režim evropskih granica menja svakodnevni život ljudi u oblastima novih granica? Koje su priče, iskustva i želje ljudi koji žive sa ove i one strane nove zvanične granice, a usred virtuelne Evrope? Kakvi su uslovi života ljudi koji se kreću? Koji se kreću u ilegalu ili u neizvestan posao ili u pritvor? Kako se radnici fabrika koje se nalaze na svetskom tržištu bore i organizuju unutar i van nove spoljašnje granice Evrope?

B Radionice:

B04 će uključiti vodeće svetske umetnike i organizatore iz lokalnih sredina u radionice i programe obuke, ad hoc i na neposredan način, upućujući na potrebe lokalnih aktivista i potrebe civilnog društva. Fokusiraće se na razmenu znanja i veština u cilju osposobljavanja i ojačavanja mladih u praktičnoj upotrebi tehnologije novih medija, obezbeđujući povezanost, predstavljajući open source softver i nudeći neograničen pristup komunikacionim alatima.

Projekat transnacionalnog vodiča kroz migracije je namenjen podršci i jačanju ljudi, na njihovom putu ka pronalaženju boljih uslova života i rada, bez obzira na to da li su trajni ili privremeni. Poseban akcenat će biti stavljen na potencijal digitalnih medija u očuvanju dijaloga i komunikacije širom granica i na moć koju ima film, fotografija i pripovedanje u vezi sa novonastajućim, naglašenim identitetima.

C Performansi:

Kako bi se predstavile slike i priče novonastajuće evropske kulture koja se formira oko pitanja informacionog društva i transnacionalne mobilnosti, B04 će predstaviti izložbe, projekcije i performanse na javnim mestima, a sve u tesnoj saradnji sa lokalnim i internacionalnim umetnicima i institucijama.

D Dokumentacija:

Kako bi se javno dokumentovala iskustva, poznanstva, rezultati i dostignuća projekta, u realnom vremenu ili skoro realnom vremenu, Internet povezanost je jedno od glavnih pitanja. Za tu namenu, projekat će biti podržan posebno opremljenim kombijem, koji obezbeđuje satelitsku vezu velike širine propusnog opsega. Korišćenje svih dostupnih medija, od štampanih preko radija i videa različitih formata u stvaranju jedne real-time dokumentacije, ima za cilj unapređenje dijaloga i interaktivne komunikacije.

BORDER04 je virtuelni projekat utoliko što bi trebalo da bude drugačiji od onoga kako je u početku zamišljen. Ovaj projekat je otvoren, u razvoju, aktualizujući virtuelnosti pokreta, dan za danom, pokret po pokret, korak po korak. To je eksperiment koji istražuje različite koncepte mobilnosti i njen efekat na delanje, aktivizam i umrežavanje.



BORDER04**Crossing the borders from the Real to a Virtual Europe**

Florian Schneider

Everyone knows, if he or she knows nothing else, that Europe will change its shape from one day to the other, when ten new member states accede the EU on May 1st 2004. There is much fear as well as much hope, but only for one simple reason: some borders seem to disappear. At least, this is the official version, or half of the truth, if you will.

But what will really happen? Where have the borders been moved to and how do these actual developments affect people who have been living and working from borders, alongside borders, against borders, or across borders?

In the next few months an independent, international and interdisciplinary commission is going to start to investigate the realities around Europe's new borders: new media and noborder activists, filmmakers, video and photographers, DJs and VJs, fine art and performance artists, scientists and investigators will set a series of events in motion that surround, circumvent and perforate the borders of Europe.

On the one hand BORDER04 is a virtual travel along both sides of the new borders of an enlarged European Union, from the Balkans to the Baltic States. On the other hand, BORDER04 will connect and short-circuit projects, activities and debates about migration and the expansion of the borders of the EU. It will par issues about mobility, mobile technologies and freedom of movement, with those about freedom of communications. And examine the future dimensions of networking, its impact on people living within the borders of the EU, and those previously, temporarily or permanently outside of it.

BORDER04 has emerged out of a movement that was organizing and promoting noborder camps for the past six years. When in July 1998 a few hundred activists put up their tents for a ten-day stay near Goerlitz, - only a few meters away from the border river the Neisse - the example set a precedent, and in the following years the summer camps along the outer borders of the European union had multiplied.

Yet, it wasn't about campfire romanticism. Instead of a 'back to nature' theme, the motto was "Hacking the borderline!" Characteristic of the border camps was a multiple strategy consisting of the exchange of skills, experiences and political debates, more or less traditional political education taking place in remote areas and direct actions with the aim of disrupting the smooth running of the border regime.

Up to now there have been more than 25 noborder camps, as close as possible to the actual border: from the first beta version at the German-Polish border in 1998, to the joint European one in 2002 in Strasbourg with several thousands of participants; from Tijuana in the north-west of Mexico, to Woomera in the Australian desert; from the Frankfurt international airport with its extra-territorial detention center, to the central foreigners' database in Cologne; from Tarifa at Streets of Gibraltar, to Frassanito at the Streets of Otranto.

Last year, during a noborder camp in a small town in Romania something astonishing happened. By chance a young guy passed by. He works for a corporation that manufactures hardware for brand name electronics companies near the Hungarian-Serbian border.

He told the story of an unsuccessful attempt to unionize the workers of this factory, and described a vicious circle with enormous symbolic impact. Snared within the boundaries of the local, every attempt to self-organize apparently lead to nothing but an affirmation of - and increase in - the power of a corporation that operates globally, and constantly blackmails workers with threats to close down the factory site, and move production to a different part in the world.

A few weeks later a group of the noborder activists went back to Romania in order to interview agricultural workers they got in contact with. The workers just won a wage claim against a German farmer who refused to pay their salary, and blackmailed them with their illegal status. For outsiders such a success story certainly comes as a surprise, so why not to share these kind of experiences with others living and working under similar conditions?

Were these just two rather exceptional individual cases, or were they exemplary in the way they referred to widespread problems along and across the outer borders of Europe? Most likely the latter. At least from both conversations the idea sprung up, that it might be time to reshape the concept of noborder-camps.

The political credit of the original concept was long overdue. It seemed to make sense to think about a radical re-launch according to various criteria. Research rather than protest, experiment with incalculable movements and mobility rather than recycling the all too predictable grammar of binary confrontations, an attempt towards the greatest possible openness and curiosity rather than a static or even hermetic attitude.

BORDER04 is the common framework for a certain range of local and remote, mobile and stationary activities that will take place in summer 2004. It is a modular, temporary, and tactical association of various new media and network initiatives, from the eastern, western, southern and northern parts of Europe.

1. Tracing the routes of migrant labor:

The many faces of migration cause dramatic changes that are not solely affecting local and remote economies. People in transit, commuters between East and West, seasonal and domestic workers, build concepts of Europe that are based on mobility, no matter if unsolicited or involuntarily.

Despite the fact that for up to seven years the free circulation of labor force is suspended, the EU enlargement could be seen as a *de facto* amnesty for hundred thousands of illegalized workers, originating from the ten accession states who stay at least part-time in the countries of Old Europe. Instead of deportation these workers may fear only fines now.

In a broader view, such a privileged, yet illegal status may very likely turn out to be one of the cornerstones of an emerging labor management regime that is set up to exploit cheap, migrant workforces without basic social right: a new emerging form of hyper exploitation.

Border crossing between the former East and West, urban centers and *maquiladora* zones, luggage and transit economies, agricultural and affect industries, will produce new roaming subjectivities of hyper-alienation with a yet incalculable power and potential.

2. Mapping the spaces in-between:

Theoretically it's only a small drift from what lies beyond the limitations of national imagination to the imaginations of those outside of it. But in practice, the spaces between Europe and non-Europe are being dispersed, extracted and contracted by numerous movements of very different actors.

The dissemination of social, political and cultural rights management relate to a virtualization of border regime that no longer relies on the operations of inclusion and exclusion. The old notion of the border is gradually replaced by a highly differentiated and flexible system of bio-political control with different levels of density and intensity.

How to find and how to map the lines of flight that are escaping paranoia and enclosure? What does it mean to be in motion or in movement? How are processes of self-organization constituted, even in extreme situations, such as detention or transit?

3. Crossing the borders from the real to a virtual Europe:

There is no Europe and there is no East. Today both concepts refer to nothing but failure.

Leaving traditional political and geographical notions of Europe behind, the new communication technologies, as well as the flows of migration, shape a virtual Europe that is characterized by its openness and its potentials rather than its borders.

There is an non-representable multitude of Europe actualized in the recent struggles of social movements, in the autonomy of migrant workers and undocumented migrants, in the experiences of social networking and creativity across borders.

Working on these three fields, BORDER04 will consist of four modules that will be developed and carried out by independently operating teams that are networking amongst themselves.

A Research:

In order to investigate subjectivities and the constitutive power of people crossing borders and networking across borders, research units will work on frequently asked questions. How does a redesigned European border regime change the daily life of the people in the areas of the new border regions? What are the stories, experiences and desires of people living on either side of the new border of the new official, EU, and in the midst of a virtual Europe? What are the living conditions of people on the move from, or into precariousness, illegality or detention centers? How do workers in the world market factories struggle and organize -- on either sides of the new borders?

B Workshops:

BORDER04 involves remote activists and local community organizers in workshops and training programs in both an ad hoc, as well as in a sustainable fashion. It will focus on skill sharing to enable and empower people with the practical use of new media technologies, by providing connectivity, introducing open source software, and offering unfettered access to communication tools.

The project of a transnational migration guide is planned to support and empower people on their way to find better living or working conditions, regardless whether it is temporary or permanent. There will be a special focus on the potential of digital media to facilitate dialogue and communication across national borders, and on the power of filmmaking, photography and storytelling in the negotiation of emerging, hyphenated identities.

C Performances:

In order to present the images and narratives of an emerging culture that is created around the issues of knowledge sharing and transnational mobility, BORDER04 will present exhibitions, screenings and performances in public spaces and in collaboration with local and international artists and art institutions.

D Documentation:

BORDER04 aims to document the experiences, acquaintances, results and achievements of the project publically in real-time or near real-time. Therefore internet connectivity is one of the key issues. BORDER04 will be accompanied by a specially equipped van that provides a high-bandwidth internet connection via satellite. Using all available media from print to radio to video in different output-formats, the real-time documentation of a project at such an extent aims to facilitate dialogue and interactive communication.

BORDER04 is a virtual project insofar that it should turn out to be something different to what was imagined in the beginning. It is open end, work-in-progress, actualizing the virtualities of a movement of movements day by day, move by move, step by step. It is an experiment, in order to explore different concepts of mobility and its effects on acting, activism and networking.

MXHZ.ORG/ PAMFLET ZA POVEZANU ESTETIKU

u 21-vom veku niko neće biti jednak, ali će izbor između raznih stvari biti radikalno sveden na dražesnu jedinicu svih kontradikcija, a sve zbog toga što samo-referentnost pretvara sve i svakog u sinonim

u 21-vom veku će sva politika biti samo o konzumerizmu, a ovo se može uporediti sa tim kako sistem "kupovine iz fotelje" funkcioniše, stoga po svojoj prirodi uvek nezadovoljavajuće

u 21-vom veku će celokupno ekspresivno ponašanje, uključujući tu i sve vrste umetnosti, biti samo hobi u poređenju sa baštovanstvom, i stoga uvek zadovoljavajuće

u 21-vom veku će podela između korporativno bazirane savremene kulture i samo-organizovane kontra-kulture biti još radikalnija nego danas, ali će ih bit vrlo lako zameniti u medijskom prezentovanju

u 21-vom veku kustosi sa obe strane će biti kao menadžeri banaka danas, svesni klijenata i komercijalne vrednosti njihovih proizvoda, i uvek spremni za novo povećanje cena, znače kada da organizuju veliku rasprodaju ili da odaberu pravu izložbu za on-line kataloga

u 21-vom veku individualizam će biti potpuno zamenjen raznim oblicima skrivene saradnje ali će imati više od jednog imena

u 21-vom veku sva umetnost će imati festivalsko ime

u 21-vom veku sadašnji umetnici će se okupljati u posebno dizajniranim prostorima da razmišljaju o budućnosti objektivizacije i depersonalizacije, logičnog nastavka onoga što danas vidimo u muzejima, školama i galerijama

u 21-vom veku novi umetnici će se okupljati na disperzivnim lokacijama da stvaraju originalne tehnološke artefakte koji su nezavisni i ekspresivni i koji mogu komunicirati jedino međusobno, logičan nastavak onoga što se danas dešava u medijskim laboratorijama

u 21-vom veku će sve vrste teatra imati podjednaku nostalgичnu notu koju danas ima cirkus, i na neki način predstave i performansi organizovani u takvim prostorima će u velikoj meri ličiti na multimedijski vodvilj i instalacije *café chantant*

u 21-vom veku ne-telesni ljudi će proizvoditi sve vrste retoričke komunikacije, ali ne govoreći ništa

u 21-vom veku će se samo ne-telesni ljudi baviti svom naukom, ali ništa neće pokazati

u 21-vom veku jedino ne-telesni ljudi će razmišljati o umetnosti, ali neće o njoj pisati

u 21-vom veku telesni ljudi će imati iste odnose koje imaju i sad, stoga će imati iste nerešive probleme u ličnom razvoju

u 21-vom veku ne-telesni ljudi će eksperimentisati sa emotivnim odnosima zasnovanim na ekspresivnosti, saradnji, ali i na objektivizaciji i depersonalizaciji kao sastavnom elementu njihovog identiteta i kao osnovnog sredstva za izražavanje emocija i ekspresivnosti

u 21-vom veku sve granice i hijerarhije će biti proizvedene samo od strane konzumentskih mreža

u 21-vom veku lutajući umetnici će prelaziti te granice iz konzumentskih razloga da bi se iznova pojavili kao ne-telesni ljudi na nedefinisanoj mestu artificalne mreže sa hitnom potrebom za ekspresijom putem saradnje, ponovo nestajući nakon zadovoljenja

u 21-vom veku će postojati debate samo o politici, konzumerizmu i korporativno baziranim atrefaktima kulture, ne o onome što čine ne-telesni ljudi

u 21-vom veku nova umetnost će biti percepirana tek kada telesni ili ne-telesni ljudi razviju novi algoritam

u 21-vom veku društvo će nestati u algoritamskim kombinacijama i disjunkcijama

u 21-vom veku će infra-tanka površina sve pojave činiti neometajuće učtivim, a svi fragmenti koji leže ispod te površine će biti obrađeni(gotovi) ali se onjima neće raspravljati niti će biti pokazani

u 21-vom veku individualci će govoriti u množini, a grupe u jednini

u 21-vom veku telesni i ne-telesni ljudi neće govoriti "hajde da pričamo o tome, gde i kada?", već "hajde da probamo ove stvari sada zajedno"

u 21-vom veku sva stvarna umetnost će biti realtime, apstraktna, algoritamska, dinamički promenljiva kroz vreme, destruktivna (destructible), inovativna, performativna i poveziivaće telesne i ne-telesne ljude putem heterogenih mreža

u 21-vom veku sva stvarna umetnost će biti bez identiteta i puna nade

kako bi sa svim ovim izašli na kraj, stvorimo odmetničku teritoriju 75 cm iznad zemlje i ne višu od 125 cm. Nastupajmo tu iznova i iznova. Nakon toga sve prebrišimo i počnimo ispočetka. Učimo iz prethodnih iskustava. Učimo i napredujmo. Napredujmo samo u eksperimentu. Napredujmo samo ako nismo sami. Samo napredujmo.

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MXHZ.ORG/ PAMPHLET FOR A CONNECTED AESTHETICS

in the 21st century no one will be equal but choices between different things will be radically reduced in a gracious unity of all contradictions due to auto referencing turning everything and everyone into a synonym

in the 21st century all politics will only be about consumerism, this can be compared to how a mail-order system functions, and therefore in nature always unsatisfactory

in the 21st century all expressive behavior, including all arts, will be a hobby only, compared to gardening, and therefore always satisfying

in the 21st century the division between corporation-based contemporary culture and self-organizational counter-culture will be even more radically split than it is today, but both will be interchangeable in media appearance

in the 21st century curators on either side will be like bank managers now, aware of clients and commercial values of their products, and ready for the next jump in prices, when to organize the big giveaway tombola lotto, or pick the right show from the catalogues online

in the 21st century individualism will be totally replaced by diverse forms of hidden collaborations but it will be mentioned in no more than one name

in the 21st century all art will have a festival name

in the 21st century current artists will still gather in specially designed spaces to think about the future of objectification and depersonalization, the logical continuation of what we experience now in museums, schools and galleries

in the 21st century new artists will gather in dispersed locations to make original technological artefacts that are independent and expressive and can only communicate among themselves, the logical continuation of what we experience now in media labs

in the 21st century theatres of all kind will have the same nostalgic reminiscence like the circus today, and in a way the performances and shows organized in those spaces will resemble multimedia vaudeville and installation *café chantant* to a high extent

in the 21st century non-physical people will produce all forms of rhetorical communication, but not say anything

in the 21st century only non-physical people will do all science, but not show anything

in the 21st century only non-physical people will think about the arts but not write about it

in the 21st century physical people will have the same relationships as they have now, hence they will experience the same unsolvable problems in personal development

in the 21st century non-physical people will experiment with emotional relationships based on expressivity, collaboration, but also objectification and depersonalization as a constitutive part of their identity and as the major means to handle emotions and expressivity

in the 21st century all borders and hierarchies will only be produced by consumerist networks

in the 21st century roaming artists will pass those borders for consumerist reasons to reappear as non-physical people in a non-defined place on an artificial network with an urgent need for collaborative expression, disappearing again upon satisfaction

in the 21st century there will only be debate about politics, consumerism, and corporation-based contemporary cultural artefacts, and not about what non-physical people do

in the 21st century the new and art will be perceived only when physical or non-physical people have developed a new algorithm

in the 21st century society will disappear in algorithmic combinations and disjunctions

in the 21st century the infra-thin surface will keep all appearances undisturbingly polite, and the fragments that lie beneath will be done but not debated nor shown

in the 21st century individuals will talk in plural and groups will talk in singular

in the 21st century physical and non-physical people will not say "let us talk about it, when and where?" but "let us try out these things together now"

in the 21st century all real art will be realtime, abstract, algorithmic, dynamically changing over time, destructible, innovative, performative, and connecting physical and non-physical people through heterogenic networks

in the 21st century all real art will be without identity and hopeful

in order to deal with all this, let us create an outlaw territory 75cm above the ground and not higher than 1m 25cm. Let us perform there over and over again. Afterwards wipe everything clean and start over again. Learn from the previous experience. Learn and move forward. Only move forward in experiment. Only move forward if you are not alone. Only move.

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Stvaralačko pravo na korišćenje informacija i distopija kontrole

Intervju sa Alanom Tonerom

P: Jedno od najvažnijih pitanja budućeg proširenja Evropske unije je sprovođenje različitih paketa zakona koji treba da regulišu određene procese u zemljama pristupnicama. Zakoni o autorskom pravu i ostvarenju prava na intelektualnu svojinu spadaju u te zakone, u sklopu standardizovanja, regulisanja i usklađivanja umetničke produkcije. Sjedinjene Američke Države su veoma napredovale u sprovođenju ovih zakona. Kakva je situacija u Evropi, ili bolje rečeno, u proširenoj Evropskoj uniji, u pogledu primene zakona o autorskom pravu?

AT: Postoji tendencija da se sva odgovornost za ovakav razvoj događaja prebaci na Sjedinjene Američke Države, jer se tamošnja administracija beskrupulozno borila za interese industrije. A zapravo, ona je u tome imala punu podršku Evropske unije i Japana od 1986. I Evropska unija je imala svoja ekspanzionistička nastojanja koja su počela sa normom koja se odnosi na autorska prava na softverske proizvode iz 1991. godine. Rok trajanja autorskog prava je 1993. produžen sa 50 na 70 godina u svim zemljama Evropske unije osim u Nemačkoj. Umesto usklađivanja na 50 godina, kao dužinu koju je određivao Bernski sporazum, rok je svuda produžen na 70 godina. Bilo je još pet drugih normi koje su se odnosile isključivo na autorsko pravo, a svaka od njih je povećavala isključiva prava vlasnika dela ne obazirući se na bilo kakav javni interes. Još jedan značajan zakonski akt bila je i norma za "Uslovni pristup", čije je namera bila da zaštiti autorska dela koja su dostupna putem preplate i uplate po uvidu. Ona predviđa zaista stroge krivične kazne čak i za nekomercijalnu reemisiju kodiranih programa, a prekršioći mogu da dobiju tri godine zatvora zbog jednog prenosa. Pretposlednja pravna norma o zaštiti autorskih prava je evropsko sprovođenje "Svetskog sporazuma o autorskom pravu", koji je postignut 1996. Rezultat je zakonom regulisano pojačanje mera tehničke zaštite koje sprečavaju pristup (poznato kao "Upravljanje digitalnim pravima"), kao i ograničenje mogućnosti izuzimanja upotrebe u obrazovne svrhe ili iz razloga poznatih kao "fer upotreba" ili "fer poslovanje". Rezultat je ekstremno drakonski režim osmišljen da kontroliše šta se radi sa delima iz sfere kulture i informacija.

A ipak, industrija za zaštitu autorskih prava nije zadovoljna. Oni tvrde da je aparat za zaštitu neadekvatan i nedosledan u različitim pravnim uređenjima. Oni žele da se uvere da je za policiju kontrola autorskog prava prioritet, time što sprovodi racije po fabrikama gde se proizvode optički diskovi i hapsi ulične prodavce neovlašćenih CD-ova i DVD-ova. Oni žele sredstva kojim bi stvorili atmosferu straha i time zaštitili svoje "sveto" vlasništvo. U isto vreme SAD zagovara upotrebu bilateralnih trgovinskih pregovora radi uvođenja krivične kazne za povredu (autorskog prava) čak i u beznačajnim slučajevima, kao i šira ovlašćenja policije prilikom istrage. U međuvremenu, Evropska unija je prihvatila novu normu pod nazivom "Ostvarenje prava na intelektualnu svojinu". Njena osnovna šema je sakupljanje najoštrijih mehanizama istrage iz različitih evropskih zemalja i njihova integracija u standard koji bi zatim trebalo sprovesti u svakom pravnom uređenju u Evropskoj uniji. Ovaj arsenal, na primer, uključuje britanski pravni instrument koji dozvoljava racije u privatnim ili poslovnim objektima, zaplenjivanje dokumentacije i materijala pod izgovorom da su to dokazi koji mogu biti uništeni. To znači da industrija za zaštitu autorskih prava može da dođe na vaša vrata sa policijom koja će izvršiti raciju vaših prostorija. Jedan drugi element se zove "Minervin propis" i on dozvoljava nosiocu autorskog prava da zamrzne bankovne račune ljudi za koje se tvrdi da su povredili autorsko pravo. U duhu poetske simetrije, direktivom je upravljala *Janelle Fourtou*, član Evropskog parlamenta iz Francuske, čije je muž izvršni direktor Vivendija, kompanije koja ima znatna ulaganja u autorska prava.

Ovo su zaista moćni pravni instrumenti. Obično morate proći kroz duži pravni proces da biste zapravo izvršili raciju u nečijoj kući ili zamrzli nečiji bankovni račun. U početku, snage koje su stajale iza ove pravne norme su želele da uvedu krivične sankcije za nekomercijalne povrede (autorskog prava), u osnovi kao oružje protiv korisnika P2P, ali su promenile strategiju zbog rasprostranjenog protivljenja i mogućnosti da norma postane nevažeća zbog tehničkih aspekata evropskih zakonskih procesa. Ukoliko uvodite krivične kazne, onda nije u pitanju samo stvaranje "jedininstvenog evropskog tržišta", što zahteva drugačiju pravnu osnovu. Zbog toga su sankcije još uvek građanske i administrativne, iako Međunarodna federacija fonogramske industrije, Asocijacija filmskih stvaraoca i Udruženja izdavača predlažu amandmane za ponovno uvođenje krivičnih kazni.

P: Uvođenje ovakve pravne regulative za zaštitu autorskih prava postaje sve brže i nametljivije. Čemu takva žurba?

AT: Zbog 1. maja kada deset zemalja pristupa Evropskoj uniji. Industrija autorskih prava tvrdi da neke istočnoevropske zemlje imaju ekonomsku korist od povrede autorskog prava, misleći pre svega na prilično značajnu proizvodnju neovlašćenih CD-ova i DVD-ova u Bugarskoj i Poljskoj, koje nisu voljne da sporovode zakone o ostvarenju prava na intelektualnu svojinu, jer će to za njih biti štetno u ekonomskom pogledu. Zbog toga se žuri sa usvajanjem normi pre proširenja Evropske unije. Zemlje istočne Evrope će prosto biti dovedene pred svršen čin i neće imati mogućnost da učestvuju u kreiranju i pripremanju. Norma se sprovodi u okviru Evropske unije, a novi propis koji će važiti od 1. jula treba da stvori režim na granicama proširene Evropske unije koji daje carinskim vlastima veća ovlašćenja da zaplene robu i u osnovi deluju po ličnom nahođenju.

P: Čini se da je razlog za sprovođenje svih ovih zakona znatno složeniji – jačanje monopola, kontrole i interesa. Pojedinci-stvaraoci su izostavljeni, iako ih često koriste kao izgovor za uvođenje propisa.

AT: Mislim da u osnovi možemo reći da pojedincima-stvaraocima to zapravo nije ni od kakve prave koristi. Jer, sprovođenje se može postići samo ako imate organizaciju koja je sposobna da vrši nadzor i vidi da li su vaša prava povređena. A to jedino mogu najznačajnije medijske kuće koje najčešće zapošljavaju spoljne kompanije da istražuju ove stvari. Sada angažuju i savetnike iz sfere informacione tehnologije ili pak prate IP brojeve kako bi odredili mesto na kom se dešava prekršaj. Ali, pojedinci nemaju

takva sredstva. Da ste stvaralac nekog dela, da li biste stvarno želeli da izgubite tri ili četiri meseca u toku godine godine da biste se borili u sudskom procesu koji će vam na kraju doneti vrlo malo novca? Pogotovo nemate nikakvu dobit ako tužite pojednca. Mislim da su stvaraoce uvek koristili kao neku vrstu "paravana", odnosno kao alibi. Često se kaže da se "sve ovo dešava zbog stvaraoaca", ali u stvari nije tako. Ako pogledate ugovore koje medijske kuće sklapaju sa stvaraocima, videćete da je sve usmereno na njihovo otuđivanje od dela. Sve se svodi na oduzimanje prava, a ne na njihovu primenu.

P: U ovoj situaciji se može naći rešenje. Koji je cilj, kakav je uticaj i kakav je značaj inicijative kao što je "Stvaralačko pravo korišćenja" ("Creative Commons", u daljem tekstu CC)? Šta inicijative kao što je ova predstavljaju za budućnost kulturne razmene uopšte, gledano iz perspektive kontrolisanja i osmišljavanja načina takve razmene?

AT: Inicijativa "Creative Commons" je zamišljena kao pravni instrument koji bi stvaraocima iz sfere kulture omogućio da iskorače iz sistema autorskih prava koji se neprestano uvećava. Da bi se to postiglo, ova inicijativa nudi lak način za dobijanje pravne dozvole koja je u skladu sa stepenom kontrole nad delom koje neko želi da zadrži i prava koja je neko spreman da odobri bez da se posebno traži lično odobrenje. Ovakav pristup je bio podstaknut Pokretom za besplatni softver (The Free Software Movement), koji je razvio nesvojinsku alternativu monopolu koristeći "Opštu javnu dozvolu" ("General Public License", u daljem tekstu GPL). Sistem funkcioniše tako što koristi softver koji izdaje dozvole, a zasniva se na odgovorima na jednostavna pitanja čiji je cilj da otkrije korisnikove namere.

Postoje dva zasebna modela kada je reč o upotrebi ovih dozvola. Prvi garantuje pristup koji podrazumeva gledanje, čitanje, slušanje nekog dela, kao i njegovu upotrebu za stvaranje nekog drugog dela, ali ne u komercijalne svrhe. U stvarnosti, zahtevi koji određuju upotrebu nekog dela u nekomercijalne svrhe svode se na usko ograničen broj slučajeva. O upotrebi u svrhe koje nisu odobrene u dozvoli mora da se pregovara sa nosiocem autorskih prava na uobičajen način. Drugi pristup funkcioniše na principu uzajamnog korišćenja, što će reći "Ako ti ustupaš, i ja ću". On dopušta da se dela koriste u bilo kom kontekstu ukoliko drugi korisnici mogu da imaju besplatan pristup delu nastalom korišćenjem nekog već postojećeg. Prvi pristup je usmeren ka potrošačima, a drugi ka proizvođačima.

Milioni ljudi koriste ove dozvole i CC je u kvantitativnom smislu bez sumnje ostvario uspeh. Međutim, mene brine to što će razne posledice postojanja različitih dozvola (ima ih desetak i više, s tim što se pojavljuju nove) otežati funkcionisanje same dozvole kao medija. GPL je zasnovana na jednostavnoj ideji (možeš da pokrećeš, proučavaš, modifikuješ i distribuiráš moju šifru ukoliko i ti dopuštaš to isto), što je pružilo mogućnost da se razmišlja o drugačijem načinu organizovanja proizvodnje, što će reći na principu saradnje. Ovim je takođe stvoreno pravno sredstvo kojim je zagarantovano obezbeđivanje sirovina. Pokret za besplatan softver je pokazao da se vrednost dozvole ne meri samo time što će sud potvrditi njenu validnost (iako mislim da možemo biti sigurni da će doleteti svakom pritisku i da bi aktuelni slučaj SCO protiv Linuksa mogao odrediti budući tok događaja. Pored ovoga, Pokret je pokazao da je vrednost dozvole i u njenoj sposobnosti da stvori društvo sa jasnim moralnim pravilima koja će pružati mogućnost za saradnju i uzajamno korišćenje dela. CC nudi preveliki broj restriktivnih dozvola, tako da ga je nemoguće jasno opisati.

Ja smatram da je osmišljavanje novih prava korišćenja u ovom času imperativ. Priroda digitalne informacije ovo čini izvodljivijim nego ikad, jer razni ljudi mogu da koriste iste stvari u isto vreme, a da jedni drugima ne smetaju. Pri tom je cena reprodukcovanja gotovo jednaka nuli. Međutim, stvarno pravo korišćenja treba da bude potpuno slobodno, a to se može postići eliminacijom kontrole i proizvoljnog isključivanja. Autorska prava kao paket ekskluzivne svojine tiče se kontrole i prava da se odbijaju predlozi čak i ako potiču od onih koji su voljni da plate. Na primer, ako tražite dozvolu za korišćenje scene iz filma ili nekog muzičkog dela, nosioci autorskih prava nemaju nikakvu obavezu da prihvate vašu ponudu. Vrlo često se dešava, naročito kada su u pitanju proizvodi velikih medijskih kuća, da oni uopšte nisu zainteresovani. Tu se jednostavno radi o monopolu, kontroli i ekstremno produbljenom vidu trgovine. Ako uzmemo, na primer, kompaniju Dizni, onda je tu zaista reč o činjenici da su oni vlasnici naših uspomena iz detinjstva. Svaka generacija dece gleda Diznijeve filmove. Dizni se podjednako tiče i medijskog poslovanja, kao i dečje industrije. Oni ne žele da Mala sirena ili Miki Maus ljudima pričaju kako je homoseksualnost normalna i zdrava pojava, niti da se treba boriti protiv sticanja profita na račun našeg života i životne sredine. Ali, pošto su to proizvodi koji se konzumiraju u okviru porodice, priče koje likovi u njima pričaju moraju ostati u okvirima pristojnosti i bezazlenosti.

Mnogo ljudi sada shvata da se pitanja o autorskim pravima ne tiču samo male grupe stručnjaka, nego da je to nešto što se zaista tiče svih. Promene koje donosi razvoj tehnologije omogućavaju ljudima da ne moraju više da budu samo pasivni potrošači i, zapravo, im pružaju sredstva za proizvodnju, tako da mogu da stvaraju nešto novo. Oni su "proizvođačko-potrošačka" klasa. U tom smislu, u CC-u se nalazi zametak ideje čije je vreme došlo: nama su potrebna jednostavna sredstva koja će nam omogućiti uzajamnu razmenu znanja, a ishod toga će biti oslobađanje od straha da ćemo biti pokradeni.

Sa pravne tačke gledišta, decenije parničenja sa Majkrosoftom nije dovela skoro ni do čega. Prava opozicija monopolu dolazi od Pokreta za besplatni softver. Postoji još nešto što iz ovoga možemo naučiti. Beskrajna reka novih zakona koji ostvaruju autorska prava neće uspeti da održi postojeću strukturu produkcije i distribucije u sferi kulture, gde vlada korporacijska politika. Milioni ljudi koriste medije koji su zaštićeni autorskim pravima bez obzira što dobijaju etikete pirata i kriminalaca. Ljude nije briga, jer oni zaista vole da uzimaju i daju bez naplaćivanja. Postoji sve veći osećaj moći našeg potencijala za saradnju i on postaje direktno vidljiv zahvaljujući onlajn zajednicama. Medijska industrija i njihovi saveznici iz sveta politike bi želeli da uvedu policijsku državu da bi svoje poslovne modele održali u životu, ali na kraju će postati jasno da su razlike između zakona i ljudskih moralnih normi toliko velike i da fiksacija o kontroli jednostavno unazađuje tehnološke mogućnosti, koje su daleko vrednije nego industrija zaštite autorskih prava. Kao što bismo mi u Rimu rekli: "Možete poseći svo cveće, ali ne možete zaustaviti dolazak proleća."

Onda bismo mogli da se pozdravimo sa muzičkom i filmskom industrijom, bar u njihovom sadašnjem obliku.

Alan Toner je studirao prava na "Trinity College" u Dublinu i na njujorškom univerzitetu, gde sada radi kao istraživač na Institutu za informaciona prava. Njegov poseban interes su procesi kolaboracije, restrikcije slobodnog protoka informacija i njihov uticaj na kulturnu produkciju i društveni život. Član je uredničkog tima izdavačke inicijative "Autonomedia" i administrator diskusionog sajta autonomedia.org, a ponekad radi i kao prevodilac kritičkih tekstova sa italijanskog i francuskog jezika.

<http://slash.autonomedia.org>

Creative Commons and the Dystopia of Control

Interview with Alan Toner

Q: One of the important subjects of the upcoming enlargement of the European Union is the implementation of different sets of laws that should regulate certain processes in the acceding countries. Copyright laws and regulations of intellectual property are one of those laws, as part of standardizing, regulating and harmonizing creative production. Also, it seems that the United States has been very advanced in enforcing IP and copyright laws. What is the situation in Europe, or better to say, in the growing European Union, in terms of implementation/enforcement of copyright laws?

AT: There is a tendency to lay all the blame for these developments at the door of the US because the administration there has been so shamelessly militant in promoting industry interests. In fact, they've been fully assisted by the European Union and Japan since 1986. The EU has had its own expansionist drive, which started with the software copyright directive in 1991. In 1993 the copyright term was extended from 50 years to 70 years - an increase for every country of the Union except Germany. Instead of harmonising the exception down to 50 years - the duration required by the Berne Treaty - they increased the term to 70 years everywhere else. There have been five other directives regarding copyright alone and each one has expanded the exclusive rights of content owners with no consideration for any public interest. Another notable piece of legislation was the "Conditional Access" directive, whose intention was to protect copyright goods available via subscription and payment per view. It allows really heavy criminal sanctions for even non-commercial re-transmissions of encrypted programs, and infringers can get three years in jail just for a broadcast. The penultimate copyright directive is the European implementation of the "World Copyright Treaty" agreed in 1996; the result is the legal reinforcement of technical protections that prevent access - also known as "Digital Rights Management" - and limitations on the possibility to exempt uses for educational purposes or that set of reasons known variously as "fair use" or "fair dealing". The result is an extremely draconian regime constructed to control what can be done with cultural or informational works.

And yet, the copyright industry isn't satisfied. They insist that the enforcement apparatus is inadequate and inconsistent from one jurisdiction to another. They want to know that the police are making copyright control a priority, raiding factories where optical discs are produced, arresting street sellers of unauthorised CDs and DVDs. They want the tools to create a climate of fear to protect their "sacred" property. Simultaneously, the US has been pushing the use of bilateral trade negotiations to introduce criminal sanctions for infringement even in insignificant cases and greater police powers for investigation. Meanwhile, the European Union has just agreed on a new directive called "The Intellectual Property Rights Enforcement Directive". Its basic schema is to collect the hardest investigative mechanisms from the different countries in Europe and integrate them and then impose that standard on every EU jurisdiction. This arsenal includes, for example, a British legal instrument allowing raids on private or commercial premises, the seizure of documentation and materials on the pretext that they are evidence which may be destroyed. This means that copyright industry can come to your door with the police to raid your place. Another element is called the "Minerva Order" that allows the copyright owner to freeze bank accounts of people that they allege to be copyright infringers. In a sort of poetic symmetry the directive was steered through by Janelle Fourtou a French MEP, whose husband is CEO of Vivendi, a company with substantial copyright investments.

These are really powerful legal instruments. Normally, you have to go through a long legal process in order to actually raid someone's house or freeze their bank account. Initially, the forces behind this directive wanted to introduce criminal sanctions for non-commercial infringements, basically as a weapon against P2P users. But, they changed their strategy both because of the widespread opposition and the threat of invalidation deriving from technical aspects of the European legislative process. If you are introducing criminal punishments, then it's not just creating a "Single European Market", and this requires a different legal basis. Thus, the sanctions remain civil and administrative for the moment, but the International Federation for the Phonogram Industry, the Motion Picture Association and the publishers associations have proposed amendments reintroducing criminal sanctions.

Q: It seems that enforcement of these kinds of laws and directives is becoming very fast and pushy. What is the hurry?

AT: Because of the 1st of May and the ten enlargement states that will then become members of the European Union! The Copyright industry claims that some Eastern European countries have an economic interest in copyright infringement - there is a fairly significant unauthorised CD and DVD production in Bulgaria and Poland - and they do not have the will to enforce IP laws that will be damaging to them economically. They are rushing the directive through, so that it will be finished by the accession time. Eastern European states will simply be presented with a *fait accompli* and have no opportunity to participate in its design or drafting. The directive covers the enforcement within the EU, whereas a new regulation, which will be operative from the 1st of July, will reproduce the regime at the borders of the expanded EU and give customs authorities greater powers to seize goods and basically act on their own initiative.

Q: It seems that all those laws and their enforcement are happening because of a far more complex reason - unification of monopolies, control and interests. Individual creators are left out, although they are often used as an excuse, and it is them on whose account those regulations are enforced.

AT: Well, I think that the basic answer is that the individual "creators" or cultural producers aren't actually really assisted by this at all. Because, you only get enforcement if you actually have an organization that is capable of doing monitoring, to see if your "rights" are being infringed. And the only "people" are the major media organizations, who employ external companies to actually

investigate this kind of thing. Now, they are employing special technological consultancies, or, for example, trace some people's IP numbers, so they can identify the location where the infringement is taking place. But, individual [creators] don't have any resources of this kind. If you are a cultural producer, do you really want to give up three or four months out of your year, to be fighting a court case, which at the end of the day is probably going to get you very little money? Particularly if you are going after an individual, you really don't benefit at all. I think that the cultural producers have always been used as a sort of, what we call "a stalking horse", as an alibi. There's a rhetoric which says: "It's about cultural creators", but in fact, it's not. If you look at the contractual arrangements which the media industry makes for cultural workers, you'll see that it's all about alienating them from the work. It's all about taking their rights, and not respecting them in any way.

Q: In this situation, some solution could be found. What is the aim, influence and importance of the initiative like "Creative Commons"? What do these kinds of initiatives mean for the future of the cultural exchange at large, in context of controlling and closing up the ways of this exchange?

"Creative Commons" was conceived as a legal instrument, to allow cultural producers step outside a copyright system in permanent inflation. To achieve this, it offers an easy way to assemble a legal license corresponding to the level of control over the work that one wishes to retain, and the rights one is willing to grant without the need for individual permission. The approach is inspired by that of the free software movement that has built a non-proprietary alternative to monopoly using the "General Public License". The system functions using a software engine which generates the license based on responses to simple questions designed to reveal the producer's intentions.

There are two distinct patterns in the use of the license. The first guarantees access which enables watching, reading or listening to the work and making derivative works for non-commercial purposes. In reality, the non-commercial requirement limits the possibility of re-use to a very limited number of cases. Appropriation for any purpose not okay in the license must be negotiated with the copyright holder in the standard way. The second approach, based on the 'sharealike' condition, says "I'll share if you do" and allows re-use in any context so long as the later work is made available in turn for others to use freely. One is oriented towards consumers, the other towards producers.

Millions of people are using these licenses and "Creative Commons" has undoubtedly been a success quantitatively. I'm concerned however that the divergent consequences of the different licenses (and there are now more than a dozen with more on the way) will make it difficult for the license to function itself as a medium. The GPL is built around a simple idea (you can run, study, modify and distribute my code as long as you allow the same) which made it possible to think of another way to organise the production collaboratively, and provided a legal instrument to guarantee a foundation of raw materials. The Free Software movement has demonstrated that the value of a license is not measured merely by whether a court has found it to be valid (although I think we can be confident that it will resist challenge and the current SCO case against Linux may determine this), but also by its ability to form the basis for a community with clear ethical rules which will enable sharing and cooperation. "Creative Commons" offers too many restrictive licences to be possible to describe it with such clarity.

I think that the construction of a new commons is imperative. The character of digital information makes it more feasible than ever, because different people can use it at the same time without getting in one another's way, and the cost of reproduction is almost zero. But, a real "commons" needs to be free of all by eliminating the possibility of control and arbitrary exclusion. Copyright, as a package of exclusive property is about control and the right to refuse proposed uses even from those who are willing to pay. For example, if you ask to use a section of a film or a piece of music, copyright holders are under no obligation to accept your offer. Often, particularly with major branded media products, they are not interested at all. It's all about monopoly, control and a very deep type of commodification. If you think about a company like "Disney", it's really about the fact that they own our childhood memories. Every generation of children gets brought to see "Disney" films. "Disney" is in the children business as much as it's in the media business! They don't want the Little Mermaid or Mickey Mouse telling people that gay sex is normal and healthy or that the accumulation of profit at the expense of our lives and environment must be fought! But these are family products so, the stories these characters can narrate must be limited to their idea of the respectable and the harmless!

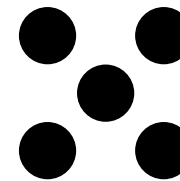
A lot of people realize now that copyright issues are not just for a small band of specialists but, it's something that really affects everybody. And, technological change means that people don't have to be just passive consumers of cultural products anymore, that they actually have the means of production so as to create new things. They are the "prod-user" class. In that sense, "Creative Commons" contains the germ of an idea whose time has come: we need simple instruments that allow us to share knowledge and whose outcome will ensure assuaging the fear of being ripped off.

From a legal point of view, a decade of litigation against "Microsoft" has accomplished almost nothing. The real opposition to monopoly is coming from Free Software. There is another lesson in this. The endless stream of new laws reinforcing copyright will not succeed in maintaining the current structure of corporate dominated cultural production and distribution. Millions of people are sharing copyrighted media despite being branded as pirates and criminals. People don't care, because they really like taking and giving without money and there is a growing sense of the power of our cooperative potential, which online communities make immediately visible. The media industry and their allies in politics would like to install a police state so as to keep their business models alive but eventually, it will become clear that the divergence between the law and people's own ethical norms is too great, and that this control-fixation is simply holding back technological possibilities which are more valuable than the copyright industry. As we say in Rome: "You can cut down all the flowers, but you cannot stop the coming of spring."

Then it's goodnight to the music and movie industry, at least in their current form.

Alan Toner studied law in Trinity College Dublin and New York University, where he is now a Fellow in the Information Law Institute, with a special interest in the countervailing impact of peer processes and information enclosure on cultural production and social life. He is a member of the Autonomedia editorial collective, and joint administrator of the discussion site autonomedia.org and sometime translator of critical texts from Italian and French.

<http://slash.autonomedia.org>



Otvoreni prostor za prezentacije projekata

FM@dia FORUM 04: Povezujući nezavisne medije / razmena unutar i izvan centralne i istočne Evrope.

Susreti i radionice različitih inicijativa nezavisnih medija o postojećim strategijama održavanja kulturne razmene i saradnje.

Milos Vojtechovsky (CZ)

Prag (CZ) 10 -11. juna i Frajštát (A) 12.-13. jun 2004

FM@dia Forum 04 u Pragu i Frajštátu će podstaći diskusiju o potencijalnim zajedničkim strategijama i interesima velikog broja nezavisnih medija i zajedničkih projekata (npr. politika medija), kako bi unapredili uzajamnu razmenu sadržaja, znanja i obostranu obaveštenost. Ubrzane društvene, političke, ekonomske i tehnološke promene koje se dešavaju u okviru nove 'ujedinjene Evrope' postavljaju izazov diskusiji, redefinisanoj i poređenju tema kao što su 'sloboda govora', javni pristup', 'nezavisnost – posedovanje medija', 'creative commons', 'digitalni jaz' ili 'razmena sadržaja'. Sve ovo zahteva ukrštanje i upoređivanje referenci kako bi se uspostavila zajednička baza i funkcionalna platforma koja bi služila boljoj saradnji između medijskih aktivista, umetnika, nezavisnih radija, izdavača časopisa, internet izdavača, itd. FM@dia FORUM 04: Povezujući nezavisne medije organizuju Radio Jeleni, Econnect (CZ), Evropski građanski forum, VFRÖ – Udruženje austrijskih nezavisnih radio stanica, Radio FRO (At), Radio Z (Nemačka) i ostali.

<http://www.fmedia.ecn.cz>

Izgubljena ekspedicija: Internacionalna konceptualna mobilna mreža

Milos Vojtechovsky (CZ)

"Izgubljena ekspedicija" je eksperimentalni projekat čiji cilj je da istraži ključna kulturološka, tehnološka i prostorna pitanja pomoću grupe ljudi koji dolaze iz raznih oblasti – nauke, umetnosti, tehnologije, društvenog aktivizma, itd. Vozilo, napravljeno za ovaj projekat, prvenstveno je mobilan radni prostor, koji obezbeđuje neophodne tehničke uslove i životni prostor učesnika u projektu. Ova mobilna laboratorija primenjuje napredne komunikacione tehnologije koje služe za prikupljanje i objavljivanje podataka, do kojih se dolazi ovim inovativnim i neobičnim istraživanjem. Cilj "Izgubljene ekspedicije" je detektovanje, sakupljanje, arhiviranje, povezivanje, kontekstualizacija, emitovanje i usmeravanje ovih obrazaca u već postojeći diskurs kao i uspostavljanje novog diskursa. Izgubljena ekspedicija pretpostavlja slobodnu interpretaciju pojma "umrežavanje" i služi kao prelazni model građanskog dijaloga, postavljajući pitanja slobode, ljudskih prava, mobilnosti, ekologije, komunikacije i humanog pristupa tehnologiji i nauci. Izgubljena ekspedicija će istražiti mentalni i fizički pejzaž geografskog područja istočne i zapadne Evrope, počev od 2004-te godine, lutajući mobilnom laboratorijom - MLOK vozilom (Multifunkcionalno opremljeno lokomotivno vozilo pomilovanja). Projekat je dizajniran kao rezultat aktivnosti Centra za Metamedije, Cafe9.net, Pantograph projekta i drugih. Prag, 2004



B04-BORDER 04

Florian Schneider (DE)

Nekoliko nedelja nakon proširenja Evropske unije, sredinom 2004, B04--BORDER 04 će usmeriti fokus na rubove i nove granice zvanične Evrope. B04 predstavlja okvir za široki spektar lokalnih i udaljenih, mobilnih i stacionarnih aktivnosti koje će se desiti na leto 2004-te godine. B04 je modularna, privremena i taktička asocijacija različitih mrežnih novomedijskih inicijativa iz istočne i zapadne Evrope, izvan kao i unutar novonastale Evrope. Kako bi istražila konstitutivnu moć nastajuće političke kulture umrežavanja, internacionalna i interdisciplinarna koalicija umetnika, aktivista iz oblasti novih medija i ljudskih prava, ljudi koji se bave filmom, videom i fotografijom, pronalazača, naučnika i istraživača će pokrenuti seriju događaja koji okružuju, zaobilaze i perforiraju granice Evrope. Cilj projekta je da napravi pregled i da istraži različite prakse umrežavanja, koje uveliko redefinišu političku geografiju Evrope. U tekućem menjanju društva, proces integracije se više ne može jasno odvojiti od mehanizama izuzimanja. Rešavanje ovih problema na političkom i ekonomskom nivou proizvodi nov problem kao i nove



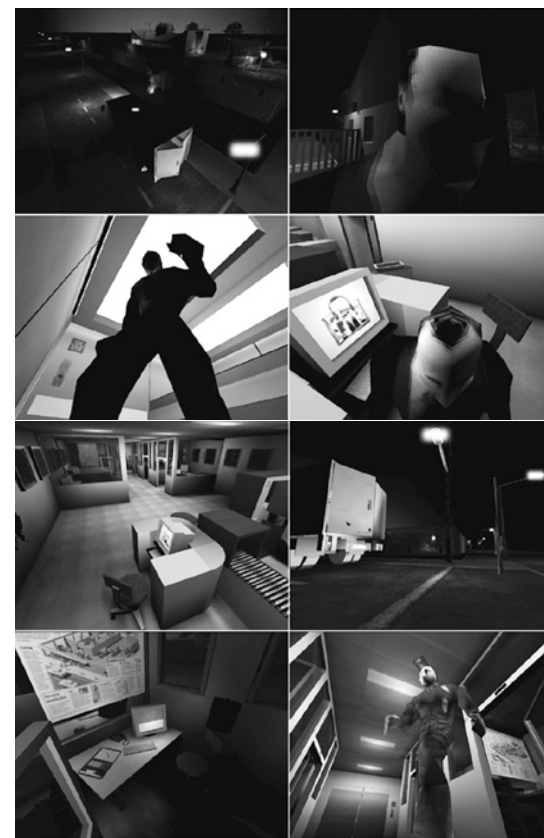
moćnosti u okviru kreativnih i eksperimentalnih projekata koji postavljaju izazov tradicionalnim konvencijama. B04 će povezati i 'prespojiti' debate o migracijama sa debatama o proširenju granica Evrope, o mobilnosti, mobilnim tehnologijama i slobodom kretanja onih koji su u Evropi i onih koji su doskora bili van nje. B04 je dvomesečno virtuelno putovanje duž obe strane nove spoljne granice uvećane Evropske unije, koje počinje u Rigi i kreće se kroz Poljsku, slovačku, Mađarsku, Austriju, Hrvatsku i Sloveniju.

<http://www.border04.org/>

maf_media art farm (Gruzija)

Wato Tsereteli (GE)

"maf_media art farm" (stari naziv: Kavkaski centar za kulturni razvoj, CCCD) je osnovan aprila 2000, kao nezavisna, nevladina organizacija koja podržava razvoj savremene vizuelne kulture na Kavkazu. "maf_media art farm" namerava da razvije i promovise multikulturalni dijalog na Kavkazu i da se fokusira na akutne društveno-političke probleme putem vizuelnih istraživanja. maf obezbeđuje vezu sa četiri oblasti: edukacija, informacija, umrežavanje i inovacija. U septembru 2001. godine, maf je lansirao Kavkaski institut fotografije i novih medija (maf_Institut) kako bi promovisao obrazovanje u oblasti savremene umetnosti na Kavkazu. Trenutno postoje 22 studenta koji pohađaju fakultet za fotografiju, četvorogodišnji program obrazovanja odobren od strane Ministarstva kulture Gruzije. Sada maf_biblioteka ima više od 3500 naslova koji predstavljaju prvu veliku kolekciju izdanja iz oblasti savremene umetnosti, fotografije, novih medija, arhitekture i dizajna u Kavkaskoj regiji. maf_biblioteka je otvorena za sve zainteresovane koji bi da postanu njeni članovi. "maf" ima za cilj da promovise savremenu umetnost i forme novih medija kao mogući način komunikacije, promišljanja i saradnje. maf_Box, laboratorija za nove medije je osnovana sa ciljem da obezbedi konceptualnu i tehničku podršku studentima, umetnicima kao i drugim nevladinim organizacijama koje se bave trenutnim društvenim, političkim i kulturnim pitanjima. <http://www.farm.ge>



Schengen Information System

Computer game, Version 1.0.3.

Vladan Joler (SCG)

Krajem 80-ih pet evropskih država osnivača Šengenskog sistema (Schengen System) počinje sa razvijanjem centralizovanog sistema za sakupljanje i čuvanje podataka, kao reakcije na ukidanje granica unutar EU zemalja i povećanja rizika od terorizma, krijumčarenja droge i organizovanog kriminala, koji se mogao slobodno razvijati unutar granica Evropske unije. SIS (Schengen Information System) počinje sa radom 1995. godine, kao prvi nadnacionalni sistem za istraživanje i potragu za ljudima i objektima, kome se može pristupiti putem lokalnih terminala u svim državama unutar sistema. Sistem se sastoji od centralne jedinice locirane u Strazburu, Francuska koja je povezana sa posebnim nacionalnim sistemima. Kompjuterska igra Schengen Information System, Version 1.0.3. prati tradiciju korišćenja okruženja kompjuterskih igara u svrhu treninga i obuke za potrebe vojnih i ideoloških struktura. Monopol vojne industrije i industrije zabave nad proizvodnjom ovakvih igara doveo je do činjenice da je tržište preplavljeno ostvarenjima koja bez ikakvog moralnog i etičkog pitanja koriste realne lokacije vojnih sukoba i stavljaju igrača u uvek istu, ideološki korektnu poziciju učesnika. Lokacija je rekonstruisana na osnovu javno dostupnih podataka, fotografija i satelitskih snimaka. Igra postavlja pitanja korišćenja kompjuterskih igara u ideološke, marketinške i obrazovne svrhe, stvaranja privatnih i državnih trening centara kao i pitanje političke podobnosti igara. Sa druge strane, ova igra je rezultat upotrebe javno dostupne tehnologije i informacija u cilju istrage i nadgledanja elemenata sistema od strane pojedinca. www.joler.org

ExStream / InterSpace Centar za medijsku umetnost, Sofija

Galia Dimitrova (BG)

Prezentacija će pružiti uvid u exStream projekat (www.ex-stream.net) - dvogodišnji projekat podržan od strane progrma Culture 2000 Evropske unije, u kojem pet organizacija koje se bave medijskom umetnošću (Hull Time Based Arts (Hull, UK); V2_ (Rotterdam, NL); Bootlab (Berlin, DE); interSpace Centar za medijsku umetnost (Sofia, BG); t0 / Institute za nove tehnologije u kulturi - Public Netbase (Vienna, AT), zajedno rade i vrše razmenu organizacionih, umetničkih i tehnoloških resursa kako bi napravile zajedničku platformu za stvaranje i distribuciju projekata iz oblasti umetnosti novih medija. InterSpace MAC je producent i organizator, između ostalih, dva značajna projekta: Strim studio (StreamStudio) i Radio kult (Radio Cult), koji su prvi multimedijalni Open Source alati proizvedeni u Bugarskoj, a koje je proizveo InterSpace u okviru exStream projekta. StreamStudio <http://streamstudio.sf.net> je složeno rešenje za emitovanje audio i video na Internetu kao i putem drugih kanala za distribuciju kao: lokalne mreže (LAN), kablovska televizija, bežične mreže, itd. Radio.cult <http://radio.cult.bg> je platforma bazirana open source alatima za audio emitovanje putem Interneta. Radio.Cult je dizajniran kao 24 časovni on-line radio koji populariše mlade Bugarske muzičare, DJ-eve, umetnike, a takođe i kao forum za razmenu ideja i prezentaciju kulturnog života Bugarske. Konačno ukratko ću predstaviti skorašnje InterSpace aktivnosti vezanih za Open Source inicijative, kao što su Open Source Software Solutions za programe obuke Bugarskih nevladinih organizacija <http://opensource.netuser.org> <http://www.i-space.org/>

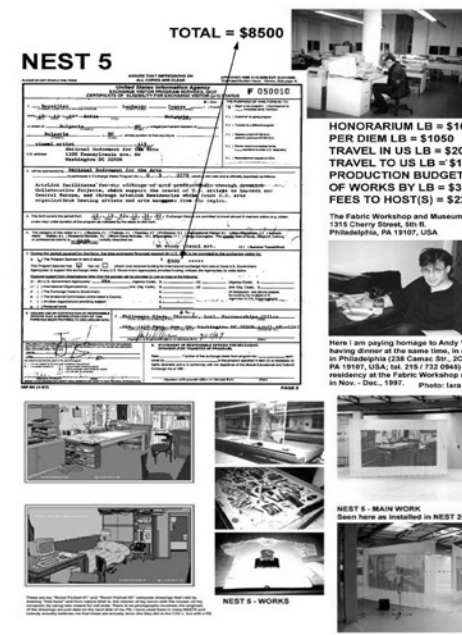
GastARTbeiter

Luceazar Boyadjiev (BG)

Pa, bio sam i besan i deprimiran nakon Štutgarta (1). Zbog mnogo toga to nije moguće objasniti sada. U suštini, imao sam osećaj da sam "kulturni gast-ARTbeiter" (nisam siguran da sam ovo dobro spelovao na nemačkom jeziku, ali znate na šta mislim), koji bi iz nekih razloga trebalo da bude veoma oprezan da se ne protumači da se "prodao" ili da je postao "šupak" koji je pristao na kompromis ili neoliberal u najgorem slučaju. Čini mi se da bi trebalo da sada "prikrijem" svoju biografiju – i od svojih prijatelja koji se bave kritikom umetnosti (to si ti (2) ali verujem da si toliko dobar da ćeš mi oprostiti na ovakvoj izjavi, važi?), ali i od svojih Internet umetnika i prijatelja koji su u potrazi za novim kontekstom, kao da Internet već nije dovoljno zaražen umetničkim igrama moći. A ja sam toliko ponosan na svoju biografiju – nije baš tako lako raditi sve te stvari. Možda bi za nekog poput mene bilo mnogo pristojnije da samo krenem sa nabranjem umetnosti i galerija, itd. Znate, nakon Štutgarta sam napravio mali proračun baziran na mojoj biografiji. Iza svega leži (molim vas imajte ovo na umu do kraja ovih nekoliko rečenica) da sada imam samo honorar iz Štutgarta na svoje ime, kako to kažu u SAD. Stoga sam grubo izračunao da je za sve ove godine nakon 1989. godine (ili radije 1990/91), kada sam u stvari i počeo da putujem na takozvani "Zapad" zbog onoga čime se profesionalno bavim – izložbe, privremene medijske laboratorije, konferencije i sve ostale vrste događaja, količina novca koju je "Zapad" potrošio na mene izuzetno velika. U geografskom smislu sam "pokrio" teritoriju od Kalifornije do Brazila, Južne Koreje, Turske i Sankt Peterburga i sve između toga. Tako da sam grubo izračunao sve troškove – karte, hotele, dnevnice, vize, honorare, stipendije, boravke u inostranstvu, kataloge, tekstove, prevode, pomoć pri instaliranju itd, koje su organizatori dešavanja potrošili na mene. Jer istina je u stvari da se mogu setiti samo jedne prilike kada sam platio sam sebi put na izložbu i to je bila izložba u privatnoj galeriji u Minhenu 1993. (ali s druge strane mogao sam sebi to priuštiti jer sam u to vreme imao Getijevu stipendiju u SAD-u). Došao sam do grube procene od 130.000 pa čak i do 150.000 \$ - možete li da poverujete??? I bez obzira na to, sada mi ništa od toga nije ostalo, nikakvo vlasništvo, ništa... Sofija, decembar 1998.

(1) Konferencija "Prvi kongres o umetnosti i medijaciji umetnosti u centralnoj i istočnoj Evropi", 20.-22. novembar 1998, IFA Štutgart, Nemačka. (2) Marion von Osten, umetnik/kustos. U to vreme kustos u Shedhalle, Ciri, Švajcarska.

<http://www.idea.org.uk/cfront/texts/gastartbeiter-en.html>



Luceazar Boyadjiev, "GastARTbeiter", 2000. Ink-jet print on paper, 210 x 510 cm. Edition of 5. Detail: Nest 5, the residency at the Fabric Workshop and Museum in Philadelphia, USA, Oct.-C

Money Nations / Viewing transnationally / Atelier Europa

Marion von Osten (DE)

MoneyNations. Polazna ideja projekta MoneyNations je usmerena komplikovanom i kontradiktornom procesu stvaranja zajedničkih i individualnih identiteta u (radikalno) promenljivoj političkoj situaciji. Od značaja za ovu analizu je bila i činjenica da politika koja se tiče granica zapadne Evrope prema centralnoj i istočnoj Evropi, postaje sve čvršća i u kulturnom i u ekonomskom smislu, i da je rasna diskriminacija protiv ne-evropljana u direktnoj vezi sa tim. Projekat se koncentrisao na rasplamsavanje aktivne debate, povezujući kreativne umetnike i medijske aktiviste iz istočne i zapadne Evrope, a posebna pažnja je bila posvećena načinu njihovog prezentovanja u kontekstu umetnosti, kao društvene i simboličke lokacije. Više od godinu dana se radilo na uspostavljanju mreže korespondenata, u okviru koje su teoretičari, medijski aktivisti i umetnici iz centralne i jugoistočne Evrope radili sa različitim tačkama gledišta protiv stvaranja granica od strane Evrope, čiji centar je na zapadu. Proizvod koji je nastao u ovom procesu uključuje video produkciju, fotografiju, instalacije, teoretske i narativne tekstove. Dela umetnika i video stvaralaca su predstavljena na izložbi u Shedhalle-u, a prezentovana su i na raznim mestima u istočnoj i zapadnoj Evropi i služili su kao osnova za dalji rad i diskusiju. <http://www.moneynations.ch/>

Viewing transnationally. Kroz različite projekte vizuelne umetnosti, projekat "Viewing transnationally" će promatrati načine vizualizacije koje tragaju za načinom na koji će migracije učiniti opisivim sa svim svojim konstruktivnim, konstitutivnim i vladajućim funkcijama. Ovo ograničava sve prakse koje od ljudi pravi migrante kao i one koje određuju tok migracije – i naš pogled na to. U skladu sa tim, jedan od učesnika projekta, Brigitta Kuster će istražiti sve uloge tretiranja ovog problema u dokumentarnom filmu, od severa Evrope pa sve do granica Mediterana i njegovom skandaloznom načinu naracije i aktvnom učešću u graničnom režimu koji je obuhvaćen ovom praksom. Pristup ovome sa stanovišta vizuelnih umetnosti reprodukuje priču o migraciji, o novim granicama i načinima otpora čak i u nemačkom dnevnom boravku, a u isto vreme se obraća transnacionalnim vezama u stvarnosti sadašnjeg svakodnevnog života Evrope. Deo projekta "Viewing transnationally", se fokusira na vizuelnu kulturu i praksu migracija. Između ostalog, kako su migracije prezentovane u medijima od 1989? Na koji način su migranti predstavljeni u vizuelnom diskursu? U kakvoj je to vezi sa nacionalnim ili EU graničnim režimom, i kako je to prezentovano? Postoje li lokalne različitosti ovih vizuelnih diskursa? Kako se režimi migracionih letova, migracija pa čak i re-migracija reflektuju na javnost upšte? <http://www.k3000.ch>

Atelier Europa (Marion von Osten, Søren Grammel). Paralelno sa pojavom raznih publikacija i italijanskih kritičkih tekstova o neoliberalizmu, na evropskoj kulturnoj sceni 90-tih je došlo do promene ugla posmatranja izvesnih fenomena, u skladu sa odnosom između samo-organizovanog kreativnog rada i političke i ekonomski definisane kulturne ekonomije. Kulturni stvaraoci u Parizu, Barseloni, Berlinu, Minhenu, Cirihi, Londonu, Madridu, ali i oni van Evrope su se počeli sve više baviti novim ekonomski i društveno uslovljenim mehanizmima islučivanja sa kojim se ljudi svakodnevno sreću u sferi posla i privatnog života, usred procesa preobražaja društva u post-industrijsko informaciono i uslužno.

<http://www.ateliereuropa.com>

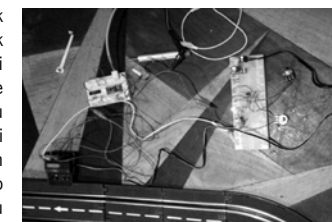
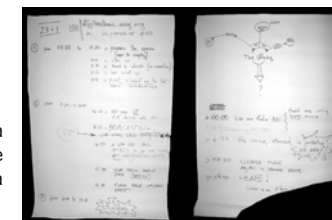
Radionica: Streaming, CONNECTED ART WORKERS' STREAM caws20040501

OST-CODE: Otvoreni studio i priroda saradnje

Guy van Belle (NL)

Shema: Ppostavka i analiza okruženja: sa čim raspoložemo? Internet veza, testiranje za audio-vizuelni striming; Unesi, miksaj, emituj! Kako raditi u real-time ne-real-time u budućnosti? Kako zajedno stvoriti ekspresivan i umetnički sadržaj: da bi poruka bila jasnija?

Evropska unija se širi na Istok, ali možda se Istok odavno proširio na Evropsku uniju. Zar nije Vygotsky ubedljivo pokazao zapadnom svetu da je razvoj kroz saradnju uvek efikasniji nego samostalno i apstraktno učenje. Stoga će zajedničke inicijative uvek doneti bolje rezultate, na duge staze, ako se baziraju na ne-hijerarhijskom sistemu ili organizovanju. Primenjujući ovo na umetnost: možemo programirati zvučne i vizuelne "zakrpe" u našim sobama sa našim prijateljima. Ali, bitnija pitanja kulture se mogu ostvariti samo u većim zajednicama uz učešće ljudi koji su voljni da napuste lokalni plan koji često isuviše restriktivan, konzervativan i kontra-produktivan. Guy Van Belle je uključen u korišćenje i razvoj multimedije u umetničke svrhe od 1990. Kao nezavisni kulturni radnik on saraduje sa Waag udruženjem iz Amsterdama na razvoju kreativnih alata za saradnju na instalacijama i performansima. U tu svrhu je postavio server \An`a*tom`ic\ "Povezano sa strukturom organizma", studio otvoren za mlade i nekonvencionalne umetnike, povezan sa internacionalnim partnerima preko optičkog kabl: New York, Brussels, Reykjavik, Tokyo, Athens, Sofia, Prague, Bratislava,... Od 2000. radi pod imenom zajedničkog digitalnog sastava mxHz.org (machine cent`red humanz), praveći zajedničke performanse, koncerte, radionice, izložbe i neočekivane eksperimentalno-apstraktno-robotične umetničke projekte. Zajedno sa Akihiro Kubota osnovao je 'Society of Algorithm' (društvo algoritama) 2001. godine. <http://www.anatomics.waag.org> <http://www.mxhz.org>



BORDERLINE CASES. Projekat o ilegalnim prelascima evropskih granica, uz projekciju segmenata video radova i akcija izvedenih aprila 2004. Autori: Stevan Vuković i Miki Pješčić; Produkcija: SKC Beograd

Učesnici: Grupa „Rotor“ (Barselona),Schleuser Net (Mihnen-Berlin), Social Impact (Linc), Martin Krenn i Oliver Ressler

Grupa „Rotor“ (Barselona): „Šengen bez muke“, multimedijalni projekat sociološke tematike (ilegalni prelasci granica). Izložba radova, ulična akcija, video prezentacija. „Šengen bez muke“ je vodič koji istražuje odnos između zakonskih premisa nove evropske konstitucije (šengenskog ugovora) o strancima i individualnih iskustava u trenutku ispunjavanja istih zakonskih normi, dajući savete za rešavanje specifičnih birokratskih i praktičnih situacija. Kroz strukturu udžbenika za učenje stranih jezika i metod „Assimil- a“, inkognitivnog usvajanja gradiva putem asimilacije, pravi se aluzija na nemogućnost razumevanja datih zakona i njihovih usvajanja putem mehaničkog ponavljanja (birokratija). Ovaj projekat je rezultat dugogodišnjeg rada i istraživanja umetničke grupe „Rotor“ iz Barselone i sveobuhvatno predstavlja ovu vrstu sociološkog problema sa pozicija umetničke forme, jezika i prakse.
http://www.dustkeeper.org/assimil_sc.htm

Schleuser Net (Mihnen-Berlin): „Schleppen und Schleusen“

“Bundesverband Schleppen und Schleusen“ (asocijacija za švercovanje ljudi preko granice), ili skraćeno “Schleuser.net”, je lobistička organizacija za poslovne poduhvate koji su specijalizovani za prelase granica bez odgovarajućih dokumenata. Osnovni cilj “Schleuser.net” je poboljšanje uslova rada za “ljudе i žene koji se bave prebacivanjem ljudi bez odgovarajućih dokumenata preko granice”, za korekcije oficijelne medijske slike i, konačno, u ‘političkom smislu’, do rasformiranja same asocijacije nakon što se donese niz zakona koji legalizuju promet ljudi preko granice.
<http://www.schleuser.net/>

Social Impact (Linc): „Border rescue“

Tokom pripreme samita Evropske unije u Sevilji, održanog juna 2002, na kome su šefovi država usaglasili stavove na temu postrojenja kontrole nad uplivom imigranata i na uvođenje vojnih jedinica u sprečavanju toka izbeglica, umetnički projekat “border rescue” počeo je da skreće pažnju na uvećani broj smrti na evropskim granicama. U toku jedne nedelje, “Social Impact” je ilegalno prešao evropsku granicu između Austrije i Češke Republike, da bi ispitao zone opasnosti, istražio ‘sigurne’ tranzitne rute (pomoću GPS podataka, video sekvenci, fotografija i mapa) i radio na obučavanju izbeglica za prelazak tih granica. Rezultati istraživanja objavljeni su na Internetu. Veoma korisni vodiči u kojima su se nalazile instrukcije za sleđenje staza imigracije mogli su se odštampati, a sajt je pružao i informacije o stanju azilantata u Austriji i drugim evropskim zemljama, slučajevima nasilne smrti na spoljašnjim evropskim granicama, kao i opšte podatke o imigraciji i pomoći onima koji odlaze u imigraciju.
http://www.social-impact.at/e_index.htm

Martin Krenn i Oliver Ressler: “Dienstleistung: Fluchthilfe“

Članice Evropske unije uvele su restriktivna imigraciona pravila, što znači da gotovo da nema šanse za legalnom migracijom u EU i boravkom u državi članici. Za one koji žele da uđu, korišćenje usluga ilegalnih prelaza granice je gotovo jedini način prodiranja kroz zidove “Tvrdave Evrope”. Cilj projekta “Border Crossing Services” (“Dienstleistung: Fluchthilfe”) je redefinisanje i isticanje pozitivnih aspekata reči kao sto su “smuggler” ili “trafficker”, koje se odnose na one koji pomažu izbeglicama u ilegalnim prelascima, a koje su stekle potpuno negativnu konotaciju kroz diskurs dominantnih medija. Na temama poput granica, migracije i prebega, radili smo u kooperaciji sa antirasističkim grupama, organizacijama imigranata i sa studentima Univerziteta u Luneburgu. Projekat “Border Crossing Services” je realizovan u različitim medijima, kao što je to direktno slanje materijala poštom i video, koji je, zajedno sa ostalim poljima informacija, činio izložbu u Kunstraum Lüneburg.
<http://www.t0.or.at/fluchthilfe/english/Video.htm>

Past.forward, knjiga “2 ogleđa”, Jean-Luc Nancy

Petar Milat (HR)

Past.forward je odsjek za teoriju “Multimedijalnog instituta” u Zagrebu. Od svojeg osnivanja 2000. godine Past.forward je promovirao nove teorijske prakse (ponajprije kritičku, socijalnu teoriju & estetiku), podjednako unutar Hrvatske kao i na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije. Članovi grupe uređuju više filozofskih edicija, a Past.forward je dosad u svom programu ugostio mnogobrojne poznate teoretičare. Jean-Luc Nancy je profesor filozofije na Sveučilištu “Marc Bloch” u Strasbourgu. Autor je velikog broja iznimno utjecajnih studija, i zasigurno najvažniji mislilac generacije koja je nasljedila Derridu, Foucaulta, Deleuzea ili Lyotarda. S obzirom na značaj Nancyjevog mišljenja, može se reći da je upravo s njime francuska filozofija zakoračila u 21. stoljeće. Knjiga “2 ogleđa” (u izdanju “Multimedijalnog instituta” i “Arkzina”, edicija “past.forward”) po prvi put na nekom od južnoslavenskih jezika donosi dva Nancyjeva ključna eseja, koji su u posljednje dvije decenije dosta utjecali na razvoj filozofske misli.
<http://www.pastforward.org/>
<http://www.mi2.hr>

Open Project Space

FM@dia FORUM 04: Connecting Free Media, exchange within and beyond Central and Eastern Europe

Meeting and workshops of Free Media Initiatives on framing diverse strategies for sustainable cultural cooperation and exchange.

Milos Vojtechovsky (CZ)

Prague (CZ) 10-11th June, and Freistadt (A) 12-13th June

The FM@dia Forum 04 in Prague and Freistadt will encourage a wide range of free media and community projects to discuss potential common strategies and shared interests (eg. Media policy), to improve mutual awareness, sharing know-how and content exchange. The rapid social, political, economical and technological shift of terms of the expanded “United Europe” pose a challenge to discuss, reframe and compare such topics as “free speech”, “public access”, “independence – media ownership”, “creative commons”, “digital gap” or “content exchange”. All this and more requires a cross- referencing for establishing a common base and functioning platform for better collaboration among media activists, artists, free radios, ‘zine publishers, internet publishers etc. FM@dia FORUM 04: Connecting Free Media is organised by Radio Jeleni, Econnect (Cz), European Civic Forum, VFRÖ - Federation of Austrian Free Radios, Radio FRO (At), Radio Z (Germany) and others.
<http://www.fmedia.ecn.cz>

The Lost Expedition, International Conceptual Mobile Network

Milos Vojtechovsky (CZ)

The Lost Expedition is an experimental project whose aim is to explore and mediate crucial cultural, technological and environmental issues, by means of a rotating group of people from diverse fields such as science, art, technology, social activism etc. The vehicle of this effort is primarily a mobile workspace, which provides technical equipment and living quarters for the participants. This roving laboratory employs advanced communications technologies for gathering and transmitting data from innovative and unusual research. The Lost Expedition’s goal is to detect, collect, archive, link, contextualize, emit and channel these patterns into the existing discourse as well as to initiate new discourse. L.E. presumes a broad interpretation of the term “networking”, and serves as a transient model for civic dialogue, addressing questions of liberty, human rights, mobility, ecology, communication, and of humanistic approaches to technology and science. Project will trace the evolving mental and physical landscape principally within the geographical area of Eastern and Western Europe in the period from 2004, via the itinerant mobile lab, the MLOK Vehicle (The Multifunctional Loco-motivated Oblivion Kit Vehicle). The project was designed as the result of activities of The Center for Metamedia, Cafe9.net, The Pantograph Project and others).

B04-BORDER 04

Florian Schneider (DE)

Some weeks after the EU-enlargement in mid 2004, B04--BORDER 04 will shift the focus to the folds and fringes, the margins and new borders of the official Europe. B04 is the common framework for a wide range of local and remote, mobile and stationary activities taking place in summer 2004. It is a modular, temporary, and tactical association of various new media and network initiatives from East and West Europe, from outside as well as within the new Europe. In order to explore the constitutive power of an emerging political culture of networking, an international and interdisciplinary coalition of fine art and performance artists, human rights and new media activists, filmmakers, video- and fotografers, researchers, scientists and investigators will set a series of events in motion that surround, circumvent and perforate the borders of Europe. B04 will connect and shortcircuit debates around migration with debates about the expansion of the borders of the EU, around mobility, mobile technologies and freedom of movement, about the already within Europe and those previously outside it.
<http://b04.org>

maf_media art farm

Wato Tsereteli (GE)

“maf_media art farm (former name: Caucasian Center for Cultural Development, CCCD) was established in April 2000 as an independent Non-Governmental Organisation that supports the development of contemporary visual culture in the Caucasus. “maf” intends to develop and promote a multi-cultural dialogue in the Caucasus and to focus on acute social and political questions by undertaking visual research. maf provides links to four spheres: education, information, network and innovation. In September 2001 maf launched the Caucasian Institute of Photography and New Media (the maf_Institute) in order to promote the education in the field of contemporary arts in the Caucasus. At the moment 22 students are enrolled in the faculty of photography, a four-year educational programme licensed by the Ministry of Education of Georgia. At present the maf_Library containing more than 3500 volumes represents the first large collection of publications on contemporary art, photography, new media, architecture and design in the region of the Caucasus. The maf_Library is open to all interested persons who want to become library member. “maf” aims to promote contemporary art and new media forms as a possible way of communication, reflection and cooperation. The maf_Box, a new media lab, was established to provide conceptual and technical facilities to students, artists as well as NGO’s dealing with current social, political and cultural issues.
<http://www.farm.ge>

Schengen Information System, Computer game, Version 1.0.3.

Vladan Joler

In the late eighties, the five founding European states of the Schengen System began developing a centralised system for the gathering and recording of data as a reaction to the abolishing of borders between EU countries, and thus the increased risks from terrorism, drug smuggling and organised crime, which were now able to spread unhindered within the borders of the European Union. The SIS (Schengen Information System) was put into force in 1995 as the first supranational system for investigating and tracking people and objects, and could be accessed via local terminals in all Schengen member states. The system consists of a central operations unit located in Strasbourg, France, which is connected to individual national systems. The computer game Schengen Information System, Version 1.0.3 follows the tradition of using the realm of computer games for the training and educational needs of military and ideological structures. The monopoly of the military and entertainment industries on the production of such games has led to the market being flooded with games, which with no moral or ethical questions whatsoever, use the real locations of armed conflicts and always put the player in the same ideologically correct position of participant. Locations are reconstructed on the basis of publicly available information, photography and satellite footage. The games raise questions regarding the use of computer games for ideological, marketing and educational purposes, the creation of private and state training centres, as well as the political acceptability of such games. On the other hand, this game is the result of the use of publicly accessible technology and information and is aimed at examining and observing elements of the system by the individual.

www.joler.org

ExStream / InterSpace Media Art Center, Sofia

Galia Dimitrova (BG)

ExStream project (www.ex-stream.net) is a two-year collaborative project supported by Culture 2000 Programme of European Union, in which five media art organisations: Hull Time Based Arts (Hull, UK); V2_ (Rotterdam, NL); Bootlab (Berlin, DE); interSpace Media Art Center (Sofia, BG); t0 / Institute for New Culture Technologies - Public Netbase (Vienna, AT), are working together through the exchange of organisational, artistic and technological resources to create a common platform for the creation and distribution of new media art projects. InterSpace MAC is initiator of two projects: StreamStudio and Radio Cult, which are the first multimedia open source software tools produced in Bulgaria by InterSpace in the framework of exStream project.. StreamStudio (<http://streamstudio.sf.net>) is a complex solution for broadcasting of audio and video in Internet as well as for other distribution environments like: local networks (LAN), cable televisions, wireless networks, etc. Radio.cult (<http://radio.cult.bg>) is open source based platform for audio broadcasting via Internet. Radio.Cult is designed as a 24 hour on-line radio that popularize young Bulgarian musicians, DJ's, artists, also as a forum for ideas exchange and presentation of the cultural life in Bulgaria. InterSpace also initiated open source projects, like the Open Source Software Solutions for Bulgarian NGOs training programme (<http://opensource.netuser.cc>)

<http://www.i-space.org/>**GastARTbeiter**

Luchezar Boyadjiev (BG)

Well, I was both angry and depressed after Stuttgart (1). For many reasons but it's not easy to explain now. Basically, I had the feeling that I am a "cultural gast-ARTbeiter" (I am not sure this is the correct spelling in German, but you know what I mean...) who for some reason should be very, very carefull now not to be considered a "sell-out" or a compromising asshole, or a neo-liberal at worst. And I think I am just working very. It seems to me that now I have to actually "hide" my CV - both from my critical art practice friends (that's you (2) but you are so nice that you will forgive me this statement, OK?), and from my Net.Art friends who are after new contexts as if the Net is not already heavily infected by power art games as well... And I am so proud of my CV - it's not so easy to do all these things. Maybe it would be more decent for somebody like myself if I would just go after Art and Galleries, etc. You know, after Stuttgart I did a small calculation based on this CV of mine. The background is (and please keep this in mind until the end of these few sentences) that right now I have only the fee from Stuttgart to my name, as they say in the US. So, I calculated roughly that for all these years after 1989 (or rather after 1990-1) when I actually started traveling to the so called "West" because of what I do professionally - for shows, temporary media labs, conferences and all sorts of events, the ammount of money which "the West" has spent on me is incredibly high. In terms of geography I have "covered" the ground from California, to Brazil, to South Korea, Turkey and St. Petersburg and everything in between. So, I started counting roughly all the costs - tickets, hotels, per diems, visas, fees, honoraria, stipends, residencies, catalogues, texts, translations, installation help and so on which the organizers of the events have spent on me. Because the truth is that I can think of only one occasion when I have actually paid my own way to a show and that was a show in a private gallery in Munich in 1993 (but then again I could do it because at that time I had a Getty Grant in the US). I came up with a rough estimate total of upwards of 130 000 or even 150 000 \$ - can you believe it??? And, nonetheless, there is nothing left in my pocket now, no property of any sort, nothing...Sofia, December 1998

(1) Conference "1st Congress about Art and its Mediation in Central and Eastern Europe", Nov. 20-22, 1998, IFA Stuttgart, Germany.

(2) Marion von Osten, artist/curator. At that time curator in the Shedhalle, Zurich, Switzerland.

<http://www.idea.org.uk/cfront/texts/gastartbeiter-en.html>**Money Nations / Viewing transnationally / Atelier Europa**

Marion von Osten (DE)

Money Nations. The starting-point of MoneyNations was to address the complex and contradictory process of forming collective and individual identities in (radically) changing political conditions. Central to this analysis was the fact that Western Europe's border policies in relation to Central and South-Eastern Europe is tightening culturally and economically, and the racial discrimination against non-Europeans associated with this. The project concentrated on kindling an active debate between, and bringing together, creative artists and media activists from Eastern and Western Europe and looked at the way in which they are represented in the context of art, as a social and symbolic location. We worked for over a year on setting up a network of correspondents - the "KorrespondentInnennetz" - in which theorists, media activists and artists from Central and South-Eastern Europe worked from different points of view against the production of borders by a Europe that is centred above all on the West. The work that emerged from this process of exchange includes video productions, photographic works, installations, theoretical texts and narratives. The artists' and video producers' pieces were introduced in the Shedhalle exhibition and are being shown in various places in Eastern and Western Europe and further exploited as a basis for work and discussion.

www.moneynations.ch

Viewing transnationally. Through various visual art projects, the project Viewing transnationally will look at the practices of visualisation that seek to make migration describable together with its constructive, constitutive and governance functions. This entails all practices that first make people into migrants as well as those that determine the discourse on migration - and our view of it. Accordingly, Brigitta Kuster will investigate the perspectives in documentary film practices from the European north onto the Mediterranean borderlands and their scandalising narrative practices and active participation in the border regime that are bound up with these practices. This visual arts approach reproduces the narratives of migration, of the new borders and of practices of resistance to them back into the German living room and therewith addresses transnational connections in the present European everyday life reality. In the discourse on migration, visual culture is increasingly important for its deployment. Who and how one is represented in the public media - and thereby made visible - offers information over which subject position he or she can assume in the existing societal formation. The portion of the Viewing transnationally project under the direction of the Institute of Design and Art Theory focuses therefore on the visual culture and practice of migration. Among other things, how migration has been represented in the media since 1989. What image of migrants has been seared into the visual discourses? How does it relate to the to the national or EU-European border regime, and how is this represented? Are there local varieties of these visual discourses? How are the migration regimes of flight, migration and even re-migration reflected in the public at large?

<http://www.k3000.ch>

Atelier Europa (Marion von Osten, Søren Grammel). Parallel with the appearance of various publications by the Italian operaists and critical texts on neoliberalism from the English-speaking world, there occurred in the European cultural scene of the 1990s a shift of perspective with respect to the relation between self-organised creative work and the politically and economically defined cultural economy: cultural producers in Paris, Barcelona, Berlin, Munich, Zurich, London, Madrid - but also outside Europe - began dealing increasingly in their praxis with the new economically and socially conditioned mechanisms of exclusion that people experience daily in the spheres of work and private life amidst the process of conversion to a post-industrial information and service society.

www.ateliereuropa.com

Workshop: Streaming, CONNECTED ART WORKERS' STREAM caws20040501

OST-CODE: Open Studios and the nature of collaborative development

Guy van Belle (NL)

Scheme: set up and analysis of environment, what do we have? internet connection, tests for audiovisual streaming; capture, mix, broadcast!

how to operate realtime and non-realtime the following days; how to create some expressive and artistic content together: to put the message through better!!!



The EU expands to the East and maybe the East has expanded into the EU already a long time ago. Wasn't it Vygotsky who showed the Western world convincingly that development through collaboration is always more efficient than individual and abstract learning. And so collaborative initiatives will always yield better results in the long run if they are based on a non-hierarchical system or organisation. Applying this to the arts: we can program sonic and visual patches in our bedrooms, together with friends. But a wider cultural issue can only come about in a larger community and with the involvement of participants who are willing to escape the local plan, that is often too restrictive, conservative and counter-progressive. Guy Van Belle (Amsterdam/Brussels) has been prominently involved in the use and development of multimedia for artistic purposes since 1990. As an independent art worker he cooperates with Waag Society Amsterdam on the development of collaborative creative tools for installations and performances. For that purpose he set up 'An`a*tom`ic\` "Related to the structure of an organism", a weekly open studio for young and unconventional artists, linked to international partners by fiber optic wire: New York, Brussels, Reykjavik, Tokyo, Athens, Sofia, Prague, Bratislava, ... Since 2000 he has been working under the name of the collective digital band mxHz. org (machine cent`red humanz), creating collaborative performances, concerts, workshops, exhibitions and unexpected experimental/abstract/robotic art projects. With Akihiro Kubota he founded the 'Society of Algoritm' in 2001.

<http://www.anatomics.waag.org><http://www.mxhz.org>

BORDERLINE CASES, Project about illegal border crossings of European borders, complemented with video documentation of actions that took place in April 2004. Authors of the project: Stevan Vuković i Miki Pješčić; Production: SKC Belgrade

Participants in project:

Group „Rotor“ (Barcelona): „Schengen without trouble“: http://www.dustkeeper.org/assimil_sc.htm

Schleuser Net (Mihnen-Berlin): „Schleppen und Schleusen“: <http://www.schleuser.net/>

Social Impact (Linc): „Border rescue“: http://www.social-impact.at/e_index.htm

Martin Krenn i Oliver Ressler: „Dienstleistung: Fluchthilfe“ <http://www.t0.or.at/fluchthilfe/english/Video.htm>

Past.forward, a book “2 essays”, Jean-Luc Nancy

Petar Milat (HR)

Past.forward is the department for theory within the “Multimedia institute” in Zagreb. Since its establishment in 2000 Past.forward has been promoting new theoretical practices (in particular critical social theory & aesthetics) both in Croatia and in the Ex-Yugoslavia. Members of the group edit several philosophical series, and Past.forward hosts the work of numerous important theorists. Jean-Luc Nancy is Professor of Philosophy at Marc Bloch University in Strasbourg, France. He is the author of several, highly influential studies and he could be regarded to be the most important thinker of the generation following Derrida, Foucault, Deleuze and Lyotard. Regarding his influence, it can be easily stated that it is Nancy with whom French philosophy has truly entered the 21st Century. The volume “2 essays” (“past.forward” series, publishers: “Multimedia institute” & “Arkzin”) presents for the first time in an Ex-Yugoslav languages, two crucial Nancy’ texts, which have heavily influenced philosophical thought in the last two decades.” Inoperative Community” (1986) is the essay that initiated the so-called “political turn” within the philosophical deconstruction. Here Nancy very subtly deals with the concept of community in the age where all certainties have disappeared, mostly the certainty of a sovereign political action. In “Being Singular Plural” (1996.) Nancy brilliantly develops the thought of a community without essence.

<http://www.pastforward.org/>

<http://www.mi2.hr>



Kralj šume, multimedijalna pseudo-opera

Producent: **kuda.org**

Koproducent: **Građanski pakt za jugoistočnu Evropu**

KRALJ ŠUME ILI POKUŠAJ PRLJANJA

„Cijela kultura je na neki način reakcijska tvorba, pokušaj da se ograniči, kanalizira – *kultivira* – ta neuravnotežena traumatska jezgra, kroz koju čovek reže svoju pupčanu vrpcu sa prirodom, sa životinjskom homeostazom.“

Slavoj Žižek, *Sublimni objekt ideologije*

Koja je to suštinska dilema skrivena u priči iz koje nastaje opera „Kralj šume ili pokušaj prljanja“ Slobodana Tišme? Ili, koja je to dilema sa kojom se srećemo na Petrovaradinskoj tvrđavi, Gradilištu i na obali Dunava, u noći „dočeka Evrope“ i koliko jasno možemo prepoznati poruku koju razmenjuju ova dva događaja? Priča o stvaralačkoj samoći, o nepripadanju i posvećenosti, smeštena je, reklo bi se, u nedavnu prošlost, u gradsku svakodnevicu društva čije je naliče imperija na zalasku. Redanjem opštih pojmova (mesto, vreme, kulturne prilike...) autor nas uvlači u unutrašnju dramu neshvaćenog umetnika, u ovom slučaju ne na početku, već na samom kraju karijere.

Njegov sukob sa društvom je obostrano egzistencijalne prirode: ono što je za umetnika osnovna potreba i jedina mogućnost da preživi, za okolinu je neizdrživi šum, delo van konteksta. Iza «sklada» malih i banalnih situacija, iza već viđenog i proživljenog, naslućuje se čitav niz protivrečnosti: naš junak je «istinski umetnik», prava retkost, stvaralac koji iskreno uživa u pevanju iz ljubavi. Bez ambicija i ideje o uspehu, sa karijerom epizodiste iza sebe, on nije u stanju da reaguje na pravila i granice umetničkog sistema... Usled toga, tek u situaciji pasivizacije tj. «stvaralačke penzije» on postaje aktivan i uzbuđljiv za društvo. Njegovo prisustvo u neposrednoj okolini izaziva drastično pomeranje u uobičajenoj hijerarhiji produkovanja i konzumiranja: potreba za pevanjem je prejaka i nemoguće je ograničiti je i prilagoditi bilo kakvom ambijentu... Umetnik se više ne oseća dobrodošlim u gradu, napušta njegove ulice i odlazi na jedino moguće mesto, na granicu koja deli kulturni kontekst urbanih prilika od njegove protivrečnosti, u polumrak sumovite rečne obale, na mitsko mesto pod gradskim zidinama.

Ono što tada sledi je samo jedini mogući rasplet – dokaz da je nemogućnost ostvarenja umetnika/čoveka kao skladnog bića trajna. Poput proteze ili nekog sličnog ortopedskog pomagala, na mestu čovečanske veze sa prirodom nalazi se «plemeniti» kulturni sadržaj određen veoma jasnim kontekstom. U trenutku kada mehanizam koji verifikuje mesto kreacije u društvu iščezava, u trenutku kada granice postaju irelevantne, događaji nas uveravaju da je nemoguće ponovno uspostavljanje ravnoteže. Pitanje sistematizacije vrednosti i njihovog traumatskog potencijala u odsustvu standardizovanog okruženja ovde je postavljeno u telu metafore o umetniku i njegovom divljem polubratu, Kralju šume.

Šta bi, posle svega, mogao da da bude unutrašnji kontekst koji određuje smisao ovog događaja u istorijskom trenutku povišenih simboličkih vrednosti? Na početku ove priče je sam autor libreta za (operski) događaj, Slobodan Tišma, vodeći anti-autoritet novosadske umetničke scene poslednjih decenija, jedan od aktera konceptualističke avangarde 70-ih i frontmen najvažnijih rok-grupa *NS-wave scene* 80-ih. Poslednjih godina primećena je njegova povišena pesnička aktivnost, ali i praksa tihog govornika pred malobrojnim gostima na retkim javnim skupovima, najčešće u organizaciji bliskih prijatelja. Slobodan Tišma je, sasvim logično, i veliki ljubitelj opere i njen stidljivi zagovornik. Odatle se njegova priča o operskom pevaču može protumačiti i kao svojevrсна intimna mistifikacija sopstvenog iskustva, kao stajment čutljivog i povučenog umetnika (bez karijere)...

Na drugoj strani priče je «Umetnost», u našem slučaju Opera, večno mesto reprezentacije i stilizacije vlasti i njenih derivata. Opera se ovde ukazuje i kao autoritarni mehanizam umetničkog sistema, ali i kao moguća teritorija stvaralačkog asketizma, kao intimno iskustvo... Iako naizgled u drugom planu, priča o spektaklu i njegovoj drugoj, ljudskoj strani i ovde nas pozicionira u prostor određen nizom distinkcija – na kraju, ono što ostaje jeste odnos između umetnosti, njenih resursa i (podrazumevajućih) ograničenja. U tom smislu ono što možemo je da ovo delo shvatimo i kao sublimaciju svih mogućih distinkcija umetnosti i ideologije koje se na teritoriji koju naseljavamo (mentalno i fizički) mogu zamisliti.

Vladimir Tujanjac

Trajni čas umetnosti

Period šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina u Novom Sadu i Vojvodini predstavlja specifično vreme i prostor u kome je došlo do pojave i razvoja konceptualne umetnosti, eksperimentalnog prostora prožimanja vizuelne umetnosti, filozofskog, sociološkog i književnog rada.

Protagonisti novosadske konceptualne scene, okupljeni oko 'Tribine mladih', su svojim radom kreirali jedan univerzalni, planetarni i ne-teritorijalni diskurs, koji se očitavao u neometanoj komunikaciji sa svetom i potpunijoj slobodi izraza. U isto vreme, njihov angažman nije bio izolovan od lokalnih dešavanja, već zasnovan na karakteristikama konteksta vremena i prostora: direktna reakcija kroz razvoj umetničke prakse i kritičkog mišljenja. Slobodan Tišma je samo jedan od aktera ove scene.

Multimedijalna pseudo-opera 'Kralj šume' predstavlja početnu tačku projekta '**Trajni čas umetnosti**', koji je pokrenuo Centar za nove medije *kuda.org* iz Novog Sada. '**Trajni čas umetnosti**' ima nameru da publiku u Novom Sadu upozna sa ovim plodnim i kreativnim vremenom, kao zajedničkim i neporecivim nasleđem, kroz razgovore sa protagonistima novosadske konceptuale i rad sa njima. Realizacija ovog projekta predstavlja zajedničko uverenje da se može promeniti utvrđeno znanje o tome šta umetnost, kultura i prave vrednosti zaista jesu.

Projekat '**Trajni čas umetnosti**' predstavlja simbolički nastavak akcije '**Javni čas umetnosti**', koju su realizovali gotovo svi protagonisti novosadske konceptualne scene, na Dunavskom keju, 1970. godine.

Kralj šume

Tekst: **Slobodan Tišma**, Novi Sad; Reditelj: **Andraš Urban** (András Urbán), Subotica ; Kompozitor: **Erne Verebeš** (Ernő Verebes), Senta; Kostimograf: **Tinde Varga** (Tünde Varga), Pečuj; Reditelj filma: **Sabolč Tolnai** (Szabolcs Tolnai), Palić; Glumci: **Suzana Vuković**, Subotica **Peter Ferenc** (Péter Ferenc), Subotica; **Zoltán Molnar** (Zoltán Molnár), Novi Sad; **Zoltán Pletl** (Zoltán Pletl), Budimpešta; **Heni Varga**, Orlean; **Sanja Moravčić**, Beograd

Slobodan Tišma (SCG)

Rođen je 14. maja 1946. Studirao književnost na novosadskom Filozofskom fakultetu. Krajem šezdesetih počinje da saraduje na novosadskoj 'Tribini mladih' i u studentskom listu „Index“ u kojem uskoro postaje urednik. U to vreme bavi se konceptualnom umetnošću i poezijom. 1977. objavljuje svoj pesnički „masterpiece“ u Letopisu Matice Srpske pod naslovom „Vrt kao To“ i prestaje da se bavi književnošću i umetnošću. Krajem sedamdesetih ponovo počinje da se interesuje za rokenrol i osniva grupu „La strada“. Početkom osamdesetih je pevač u grupi „Luna“. Sa obnovljenom „La stradom“ izdaje istoimeni album 1986. godine. Krajem osamdesetih se povlači iz javnog života i počinje da piše i svoj pesnički dnevnik koji će objaviti tek 2001. godine. Tokom devedesetih objavljuje dve zbirke pesama: „Marinizmi“, 1995. i „Vrt kao To“, 1997, u kojoj su sakupljene pesme koje je pisao i objavljivao po časopisima tokom sedamdesetih. Konačno, 2001. pojavljuje se već spomenuti dnevnik pod naslovom „Blues diary“. U drugoj polovini devedesetih počinje da piše i priče. Neke od njih objavljene su u kikindskom „Severnom bunkeru“ i u novosadskim „Poljima“, a prevedene su i na makedonski i italijanski jezik i objavljene u antologijama priča novijih autora koji pišu na srpskom jeziku. Njegove priče nemaju formalnu zaokruženost i celovitost, počinju niotkuda i završavaju se iznenada. One predstavljaju tekstualne segmente u kojima nepostojeći autor (subjekt) ispituje svoju poziciju. Živi i radi u Novom Sadu.

Andraš Urban (SCG)

Rođen je 04.10.1970 u Senti (Vojvodina, Srbija i Crna Gora). Posle pravne srednje škole upisuje se na Akademiju umetnosti u Novom Sadu, na studije režije u klasi prof. Vlatka Gilića 1989, koje prekida 1993 do 1997. Studije nastavlja u klasi prof Bore Draškovića i diplomira 2000 godine. 1988, osniva sa svojim vršnjacima čuvenu pozorišnu grupu AIOWA. Takođe je i član Pozorišne Zajednice Nyari Mozi-Letnji Bioskop i danas, gde je prisutan godinama i kao organizator i kao učesnik Body Weather Laboratory-a. Zaposlen je kao reditelj i umetnički sekretar u pozorištu "Kostolanji Deže" u Subotici. Realizovao je dosta neformalnih ili formalnih performansa i happeninga sa "Aiowa" i "Nyari Mozi" grupama. Važnije predstave koje je realizovao su: Gušteri (1988), Rosa (1989), Wojzcek (1992), Hamlet (1992), Mamu mu...ko je prvi počeo (2000), Piknik na frontu (2001), itd.

Slobodan Tišma (SCG)

Born May 14, 1946. Studied literature at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. In the late sixties he began working with the Novi Sad Youth Platform and was involved in the *Index* student newspaper of which he soon became editor. At this time he was engaged in conceptual art and poetry. In 1977 his poetic ‚masterpiece‘, *A Garden Like That (Vrt kao To)*, appeared in *Letopis Matice srpske* (the magazine of the Central Serbian Cultural and Publishing Society), and with this he suspended his involvement in literature and art. At the end of the seventies, with his interest in rock ,n roll reawakened, he formed the group *La strada*. In the early eighties he was the singer for *Luna*, and with the reformation of *La strada* in 1986, an album of the same name was released. In the late eighties he withdrew from public life and began writing a poetic diary, which was eventually to be published as *Blues Diary* in 2001. During the nineties he published two collections of poetry: *Marinizmi*, 1995 and *A Garden Like That* (1997), which gathered poems he had written and published in magazines during the seventies. In the latter half of the nineties he also began writing short stories. Selected stories were published in the Kikinda-based *Severni bunker (Northern Bunker)* and in the Novi Sad-based *Polja (Fields)*, were translated into both Macedonian and Italian, and were also published in anthologies of short stories by new authors writing in the Serbian language. His stories have no formal completion or wholeness, they begin from nowhere and finish abruptly. They present textual segments in which the non-existent author (subject) questions his own position. He lives and works in Novi Sad.

Andraš Urban (SCG)

Born 04.10.1970, in Senta (Vojvodina, Serbia and Montenegro). After completing secondary school for legal studies, in 1989 he enrolled at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad, majoring in theatre production under Prof. Vlatka Gilić. This study was interrupted between 1993-97, and was then continued under Prof. Bora Drašković until graduation in 2000. In 1988, with a group of his peers he founded the well-known theatre group ALOWA. He is a member of the *Nyari Mozi-Letnji Bioskop* (Summer Cinema) Theatre Ensemble, and for years has been active as both an organizer and participant in the Body Weather Laboratory. He is employed as a director and artistic secretary with the Deszso Kosztolanyi Theatre in Subotica. Alongside both informal and formal performances and happenings with ALOWA and Nyari Mozi, significant works he has brought to the stage include: *Lizards*, 1988, *Dew*, 1989, *Wojzcek*, 1992, *Hamlet*, 1992, *Picnic on the Front*, 2001, etc.



Performansi na Trans_ evropskom forumu

“Novo državljanstvo za Srbe!”, State of Sabotage (AT) u Novom Sadu u zavaničnoj poseti

State of Sabotage (SoS), po prvi put u Srbiji instalira SoS iseljeničku kancelariju namenjenu građanima Srbije, tokom trajanja Trans_ evropskog foruma. Privremena iseljenička kancelarija i konzulat će izdavati SoS državljanstva i pasoše. Kao poklon SoS-a, biće služeno transnacionalno jelo “Soup of Sabotage”! State of Sabotage je prvobitno iniciran kao projekat umetnika Roberta Jelineka 1992. godine. Kao međunarodna muzička i umetnička, organizacija/grupa SoS radi od 1994. Sabotage je 2003. godine proglasila sebe za državu (državu u vremenu), koja konstantno povećava teritoriju svojih građana, ali bez jasne demarkacije svojih teritorija, izuzev pasoša koji kao obeležje države omogućava uživanje statusa građanina SoS-a. SoS je fizički veoma vitalan kolektiv postavljen u stvarnom svakodnevnom društvenom i političkom životu. Ona je rastući živi organizam čiji duh, dinamiku i raznolikost obrazuju sami građani.

www.sabotage.at/sos



[Sensor Diet], inf.act (GE)

Projekat [Sensor Diet] se sastoji iz dva dela: audio, koji se sastoji iz dve komponente (analogni/digitalni izlaz), i vizuelnog dela. Analogni audio deo nudi performans sa gramofonima, puštanje ploča iz sovjetskog vremena: gruzijske i ruske bajke, koje čitaju različiti glasovi različitog izgovora i razni kursevi stranih jezika koji sadrže sve konvencionalne elemente klasičnih lekcija, namenjenih Gruzijcima. Vizuelni deo elaborira gore pomenuti audio deo, preklapajući dva sistematična i periodična okvira koja se tiču pokreta i gestova. Video je u duploj ekspoziciji montirani program vesti iz perioda Sovjetskog Saveza i sadašnje televizije u Gruziji. Grupu inf.act čine gruzijski umetnici George Jorjoliani, George Sumbadze i Levan Nutsubidze.

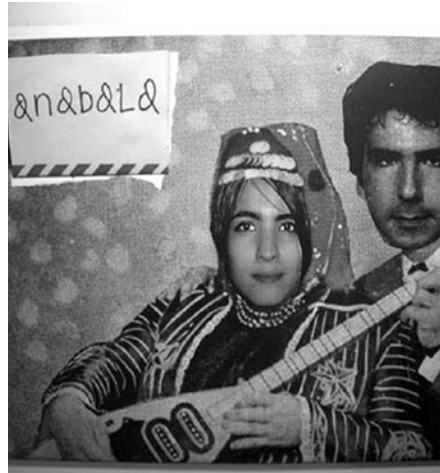
“Transistan”, Anabala (TR)

Anabala je multidisciplinarni projekat koji se fokusira na zvuke i kult Istambula. Anabala je uzela ime po pasažu u centru Istambula, gde su dvoje od osnivačkih članova iznajmili prazan studio za 30 \$ mesečno. Pokušali su da naprave lažnu prodavnicu koristeći materijale koji su ostali od prethodne radnje, koja je bila studio za tetoviranje. Tokom perioda od jednog meseca snimali su glasove koji su se čuli i koje su oni pravili u prodavnici tokom dana, a montirali su ih noću. Na kraju su svi ti miksevi činili njihov prvi album. Jedna od pesama sa albuma je bila uvrštena na sound/art kompilaciju “ctrl-alt-del” kao proizvod zajedničkog projekta na temu zvuka razvijanog u Istanbulu i Mastrihtu (2003). Anabala će svoj performans u Novom Sadu bazirati na iskustvima stečenim živeći u Istanbulu. Osnivači Murat Ertel i Ceren Oykut žive u azijskom delu (Anadolijska strana) Istanbula i putuju evropskom stranom skoro svaki dan. Prelaze 70 km dnevno, kako bi makar i simbolično rušili geografske i društvene granice ova dva kontroverzna jonska kontinenta. Ertel, uglavnom muzičar i Oykut, uglavnom slikar, prenose svoje umetničke utiske jedan na drugoga. Stvaraju multidisciplinarna dela koristeći elemente humora, parodije i iznenađenja, kao osnovne elemente svog performansa. Anababala performans je takođe predstavljen i na izložbi “Hodajući Istanbul, beleške iz karantina” u digitalnoj laboratoriji Holon u Tel-Avivu (2003-2004).

<http://www.project-ctrl-alt-del.com>

<http://www.kuzudesign.com/glassights>

[http://www.digitalartlab.org.il/istanbul](http://www.digitalartlab.org/il/istanbul)



Belgradeyard Sound System (SCG)

Naziv Belgradeyard Sound System, pre svega se odnosi na dvočasovnu radio emisiju na talasima Radija B 92 (sredom 00-02 h), čiji su autori Goran Simonoski i Relja Bobić. Tokom tri godine aktivnog prisustva na lokalnoj muzičkoj i kulturnoj sceni, prvobitna ideja predstavljanja nekomercijalne, savremene produkcije svih muzičkih žanrova jasno se ocrtava u svim dešavanjima koje nose ovo obeležje. Originalna muzička ostvarenja pod istim imenom pojavljuju se za britansku izdavačku kuću “Cosmic.Sounds”, kao i nemačku “Klangkrieg” i slovenačku “rx:tx”. Do kraja 2004. godine pojaviće se i debtinatski album ovog projekta. U



cilju promocije ovog materijala oformljen je istoimeni bend, koji pored osnivača za kompjuterima čini i kontrabasista Ivan Antić. Grupa je već nastupala u Londonu, Budimpešti, Berlinu, Gracu, Ljubljani... Njihov najznačajniji projekat je festival elektronske muzike “Dis-patch” u Beogradu, koji će nastaviti da svakog oktobra jugoslovenskoj publici predstavi najaktuelnija imena svetske elektronske muzičke scene.

www.belgradeyard.com

www.dis-patch.com

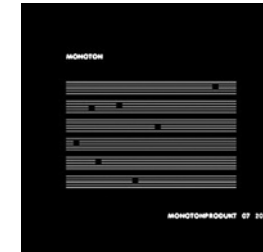
www.cosmicsounds-london.com

EURO_trance party, Monoton (AT)

Kao i druge germanske grupe (Kraftwerk, Neu, Cluster, Conrad Schnitzler), izdanja Monoton-a (a posebno Monotonprodukt 07) su se pokazala kao prethodnica izvesnih trendova u elektronskoj muzici na kraju XX veka. Izdvojen od strane “The Wire” magazina kao jedan od sto najvažnijih, ali ignorisanih izdanja druge polovine XX veka, on sadrži embrion nekoliko narednih izdanja. Iako je ovo izdanje jedinstveno, još uvek je moguće uspostaviti paralelu između nekoliko njegovih komponenata i kompozicija koje su napravili Dome, Bruce Gilbert, Lustmord, a nedavno Main, Pan Sonic, Coh ili cikličnih obrazaca koje su koristili umetnici koji se vezuju za nov nemački minimalizam. Ako su obredne i skoro magične karakteristike muzike Monotona makar i malo prisutne u današnjoj elektronskoj muzici, vibracije koje nosi i blaženi hipnotizam ritma su itekako poznati našim ušima. Monoton / Konrad Beker (AT) je istraživač, dizajner interdisciplinarnih događaja i sadržaja, koji radi na razvoju hipermedija. On je jedan od osnivača Instituta za nove tehnologije u kulturi i direktor “Public Netbase/t0”, Centra za nove komunikacione tehnologije, usmerenog mladima i kulturi, i osnivač “World-Information.Org” internacionalne izložbe o informacionim i komunikacionim tehnologijama (ICT).

<http://www.oral.qc.ca/eng/productions/monoton.html>

<http://www.t0.or.at/~konrad/>

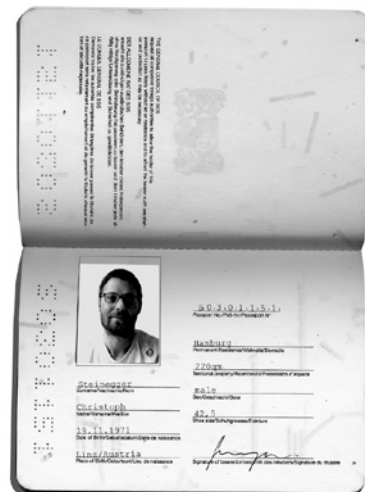


Performances at Trans_European Picnic

“New Citizenship for Serbians!” State of Sabotage (AT) in Novi Sad on state visit

The SoS state will install a temporary SoS Immigration office and consulate during the Trans_European Picnic in Novi Sad. At the Picnic's opening, the consulate will be presented by three representatives and SoS passports will be issued. The SoS Immigration Office remains open through the duration of the Festival via printed material, applications, videos, and a SoS shop. Also, it's planned to present the SoS consulate in the streets of Novi Sad via megaphones and performance. First initiated as a project by artist Robert Jelinek in 1992, in operation as an international music/art label, collective and organization since 1994, Sabotage has now, in 2003, drawn its own artistic conclusions and declared itself a state - a state in time, with constantly expanding citizens' territories, but without the demarcation of national own an SoS passport and enjoy the status of an SoS citizen. SoS is a physically vital collective body, installed in real everyday social and political space. It is a growing organism whose dynamics, spirit and diversity are shaped by the citizens themselves.

www.sabotage.at/sos



[Sensor Diet], performance by inf.act (GE)

The performance [Sensor Diet] consists of two parts: an audio part, which is compiled of two components (analog/digital output), and a visual part. The analog audio part offers a performance with turntables, spinning records from the Soviet times. The latter are: Georgian and Russian fairy-tales, narrated by different voices and articulations, and various language courses for the Georgian population, containing all the conventional language-session elements. The visual part elaborates on the aforementioned audio output, by overlapping two systematic and periodical frameworks in terms of motion and gestures. The video is a double edit of the news program from Soviet period television, and current television in Georgia. The image thus presents two layers simultaneously. Members of group inf.act are Georgian artists George Jorjoliani, George Sumbadze and Levan Nutsubidze.

“Transistan” by Anabala (TR)

Anabala is multidisciplinary project concentrating on Istanbul's sounds and cult. The project consists of two artists: Murat Ertel, mostly a musician and Ceren Oykut, mostly a painter transfer their artistic concentration onto each other's. They create multidisciplinary pieces by taking the aspects of humor, parody and surprise as the basic elements of their performances. Anabala took its name from a passage at central Istanbul where two founder members rented an empty shop for 30 dollars for a month. They tried to form a fake shop only using the material, which were leftovers (or ruins) from the previous shop, which was a tattoo shop. During this one-month period they recorded the voices they heard and have made at the shop during the day and mixed them by night. At the end all those mixes formed the first album. One song out of it made it to the sound art compilation album called “ctrl-alt-del” as an outcome of a joint project on sound art developed both in Istanbul and Maastricht (2003). Anabala also performed for the exhibition “Walking Istanbul, Notes from the Quarantine” in The Digital Lab, Holon, Tel-Aviv. (2003-2004). Anabala has started collaboration with musicians, sound-artists and visual artists from Köln, Germany and formed another group called K34 -Köln-Istanbul Cultural Exchange Project. Anabala will base their Novi Sad performance “Transistan” on their experiences acquired through living in Istanbul. Founder members Murat Ertel and Ceren Oykut live at the Asian part (Anatolian side) of Istanbul and travel through European side almost everyday. They travel 70 km per day at least breaking the symbolic, geographical, and sociological borders of these two controvert ional continents. Anabala also performed for the exhibition “Walking Istanbul, Notes from the Quarantine” in The Digital Lab, Holon, Tel-Aviv. (2003-2004)

<http://www.project-ctrl-alt-del.com>

<http://www.kuzudesign.com/glassights>

<http://www.digitalartlab.org.il/istanbul>

Belgradeyard Sound System (SCG)

The name Belgradeyard Sound System refers to the 2-hour weekly radio show broadcasted at Radio B 92 (Wednesdays, 00-02 AM), the authors being Goran Simonoski and Relja Bobic. After three years of their active presence on the local music and cultural scene, the first idea of presenting non-commercial, contemporary production of all music genres is clearly seen in all events bearing this mark. Original musical productions under the same name are being released by the British label Cosmic.Sounds, as well as the German Klangkrieg and the Slovenian rx:tx. Until the end of 2004, a full-length debut by this project will also see the light of day. In order to promote this material in a live context, the band of the same name has been formed, with the founding members on programming and addition of the double-bass player Ivan Antic. The band has already performed in London, Budapest, Berlin, Graz, Ljubljana... The most important project is the festival of electronic music Dis-patch held in Belgrade, which will continue to present the current names of the global electronic scene to Yugoslav audience each October.

www.belgradeyard.com

www.dis-patch.com

www.cosmicsounds-london.com



Monoton (AT), EURO_trance party

Like other Germanic groups (Kraftwerk, Neu, Cluster, Conrad Schnitzler), Monoton's products (in particular Monotonprodukt 07) have turned out to be fine forerunners of certain trends in electronic music at the end of the twentieth century. Singled out in The Wire magazine as one of the hundred most important and ignored records of the second half of the twentieth century, it contains the embryos of several subsequent productions. Even though this record is unique, it is still possible to establish a parallel between some of its components and compositions made by Dome, Bruce Gilbert, Lustmord, and more recently, Main, Pan Sonic, Coh or the cyclic patterns used by artists affiliated to new German minimalism. Monoton / Konrad Becker (AT) is a hypermedia researcher/developer, interdisciplinary event and content designer. He is chairman of the Institute for New Culture Technologies, Director of Public Netbase/ t0, a Culture and Youth oriented Center for New Communication Technologies and founder of World-Information.Org, a cultural intelligence provider.

<http://www.oral.qc.ca/eng/productions/monoton.html>

<http://www.t0.or.at/~konrad/>



Filmski i video program na Trans_evropskom forumu

“Cipele za Evropu”

Pavel Braila (MD), 2002, film snimljen na DV formatu prebačen na DVD, 26’

Film “Cipele za Evropu” ispituje politički sprovedeno raslojavanje između istoka i zapada – nasuprot okolnostima istorijske tranzicije – koristeći svakodnevno iskustvo putovanja i razmene. Na maloj voznoj stanici, na moldavsko–rumunskoj granici, u mestu Ungheni, svaki voz se zaustavlja na tri sata i podiže do visine od dva metra kako bi se zamenili točkovi čiji je međuosovinski raspon u Moldaviji, po ruskom standardu, nešto manji od onog evropskog u Rumuniji i ostalom delu Evrope. Tegobno putovanje voza između istoka i zapada (koje je umetnik nelegalno snimio, jer snimanje na moldavskom delu graničnog prelaza nije dozvoljeno) je situacija koja predstavlja snažnu želju dobijanja dozvole za ulazak u zapadnu Evropu, sa namerom homogenizacije komunikacionih i tehnoloških alata, koji služe neutralizaciji razdaljine i mesta. Snimljen u DV formatu, dve slike se projektuju odražavajući uvek prisutan predmet razmišljanja: Kako locirati i posredovati subjektivnost u vremenu fragmentacije, dislokacije i novog mita o transnacionalnom identitetu? Pavel Braila (MD) se bavi videom i performansom. Razvio je subjektivni vokabular u kojem se ispitivanje prostora vrši kroz širok spektar kulturno i ekonomski kodiranih tačaka.

“Znate li nešto o poljskoj umetnosti?”

Hubert Czerepok (PL) u saradnji sa M. Bakke, 2002, 14’47”

Ovaj video rad je neka vrsta dokumentarnog filma u kojem se svim intervjuisanim postavlja isto pitanje: Da li znaju nešto o poljskoj umetnosti? U nastavku se dalje postavlja pitanje da li znaju nešto o određenim incidentima vezanim za cenzurisane umetnosti u Poljskoj u proteklih nekoliko godina. Nakon nekog vremena shvatamo da ljudi koji odgovaraju na postavljena pitanja ne znaju baš mnogo o tome i odgovaraju po kliše. Na kraju filma je sigurno to da gledalac zna dosta manje o poljskoj umetnosti nego ranije. Hubert Czerepok (PL) je rođen u Slubicama u Poljskoj. Magistrirao je skulpturu i crtež na Akademiji umetnosti u Poznanu, Poljska. Od 2002-2003 je radio kao istraživač na umetničkom odelu “Jan van Ajk” akademije u Mastrohtu, a trenutno se nalazi u Antverpenu, Belgija, gde pohađa Visoki institut umetnosti, HISK (Higher Institute for Fine Arts). Hubert je izlagao, između ostalog u Poljskoj, Holandiji, Estoniji, Letoniji i Nemačkoj.



“Drveni automobil”

Joost Conijn (Holandija), 2002, 31’

Na leto 2001 godine, Joost Conijn pravi auto. Auto je od drveta i pokreće se na drveni pogon, koristeći kao gorivo drvo umesto benzina. Ovim drvenim automobilom Conijn polazi na put kroz nekoliko zemalja u istočnoj Evropi: Rumunija, Ukrajina, Albanija. Ne zaviseći od benzina, on napušta konvencionalne puteve. Ne postoji unapred određena destinacija. Umetnik putuje ka nepoznatom, a kamera prati celokupno putovanje. Osnovna ideja je da se snimi film o neočekivanom, koje drveni automobil sam po sebi proizvodi. Kako bi imao gorivo za svoje putovanje, Conijn putuje kroz šumu. Nailazi na mala sela, a ljudi ga upućuju na lokalne pilane i nude mu hranu i rezerve drveta. Auto je lišen umetničkih epiteta i služi kao posrednik u komunikaciji. Polazna tačka Joost Conijnovog rada je njegova fascinacija drugim svetovima, alternativnim načinima življenja na rubu adaptirane okoline. Putovanje za njega predstavlja nezadrživ nagon, isto kao i njegova potreba za avanturom. Svako putovanje raspliće gomilu nepredvidivih događaja. “Drveni automobil” dolazi iz Conijnove želje da se kreće i transportuje nezavisno, preispitujući kulturološke pretpostavke vezane za vladajući poredak u zapadnom društvu. Njegovi raniji filmovi “Automobil na krovu” (Car on roof 1996), “C’est une hek” (1997) i “Avion” (2000) se uglavnom fokusiraju na vozilo: mehaniku i pojam kretanja. Trenutno, njegovo polje interesovanja se lagano usmerava ka ljudima, koji žive u minimalnim životnim uslovima.

“Sofia”

Milica Lapčević, Vladimir Šojat, Vamši, Nebojša Milenković (SCG), 2004, 6’

Odabrali smo ovaj primer da bismo skrenuli pažnju na mogućnost da odgovornost jedinice u društvu uspostavlja sopstvene okvire standardizacije koji će prevazići one koji su lokalno uspostavljeni, kao i one koji su objektivno nametnuti kao univerzalni. Koja vrsta odgovornosti se pojavljuje kod ovog primera? Pre svega, odgovornost prema tradiciji (porodični privatni biznis) i prema posedu (postojeći model kioska), a zatim i prema sredini (u kojoj nastoji da održi svoju lokaciju). Zatim, građanska odgovornost koja se određuje za otpor vlastima, i konačno, na dva nivoa, otpor lokalnoj standardizaciji i time standardizaciji uopšte. Sofia Bašić je samo lakmus, na kome se jasno ocrtava zaključak da promena sistema, uvođenje standardizacije, može ukinuti i one tendencije koje su naizgled u skladu sa sistemom. Odbacivanje njenog modela male privrede je zapravo odbacivanje pojedinačnog primera ekonomske egzistencije zarad lokalne standardizacije, koja nužno ne mora biti usklađena sa evropskim modelom. Sa druge strane, oblik njenog otpora čini da se podsetimo i širine sa kojom bi se moralo pristupati primeni standardizacije u lokalnim zajednicama. Podsećamo se i ljudskih prava, humanosti, kao i neophodnosti da se proces standardizacije razdvoji od državnih organa, s obzirom da u takvom sistemu, u kome se okoštali model državnih organa koristi kao instrument za sprovođenje standarda, dolazi do pojedinačnih žrtava, ozbiljnog gubljenja sistema vrednosti i jednostranosti.



Izbor filmova i video radova, NOMAD (TR)

NOMAD e nezavisna organizacija oformljena 2002. godine. Cilj joj je produkcija i eksperimentisanje novim modelima u okviru digitalne umetnosti kroz prizmu ostalih disciplina umetnosti. Srž organizacije čine dizajneri, inženjeri, arhitekte, kustosi i pisci. Stoga infrastruktura bazirana na tehničkom i teoretskom nivou omogućuje saradnju sa umetničkim udruženjima.

<http://www.nomad-tv.net>

“Četiri slike”

Hatice Güleriyüz (TR), 2004, 22’

Njeni filmovi orbitiraju negde oko stanja svesti nastalog zbog potisnutih društvenih situacija. Ona povezuje i oslikava ova stanja ekstremnim fizičkim uslovima. Opisuje “Četiri slike” kao “film o sugestiji slikovitog pamćenja ili prezentaciji fragmenata sećanja koja se dešava u ljudskom umu.” Hatice Güleriyüz je studirala umetničku akademiju u Turskoj i pohađala je programe rezidencija u Berlinu, Minhenu i Londonu. Magistarske studije je pohađala na “Hogeschool voor de Kunsten Arnhem” i “Willem de Kooning Academie”, u Roterdamu. Od 2002-2003, Hatice je kao istraživač boravila na “Jan van Eyck Academie” u Maastrichtu.

“No (or bad signal)”

Ali Demirel (TR), 1998 - 2004, 2’

“No (or bad signal)” prikazuje stanje mobilnosti kroz kaos i konfuziju televizijske tehnologije za prenos slike. Ali Demirel je studirao arhitekturu i audio-vizuelne medije na bliskoistočnom tehničkom univerzitetu. On je nezavisni video umetnik, koji deluje u eksperimentalnom domenu pokretne slike. Videom se bavi od 1993. godine, fokusirajući se na minimalne, repetitivne i hipnotičke pokretne slike.

“Razmetljivi orijentalac”

Erhan Muratoglu (TR), 2003, 55’

Rad nazvan “Razmetljiv orijentalac” je kompjuterska animacija koja predstavlja ogromne, 3D bubašvabe, koje pokušavaju da nađu izlaz, plahovito jurajući naokolo, okupljajući se u uglovima i ponašajući se kao neorgaizovano krdo. Vizuelni deo je upotpunjen muzikom koja se na direktan način odnosi na okruženje video igre, u kojoj igrač mora biti uvek u trku kako bi napredovao u igri. U imenu igre je sadržan i crni humor nastao u toku samog rada. Erhan Muratoglu je interaktivni dizajner i digitalni umetnik. Studirao je industrijski i grafički dizajn. Radio je i izlagao kompjuterske grafičke projekte u Turskoj, Vekoj Britaniji, i SAD-u. Dobitnik je Kodakove nagrade na 11. internacionalnom filmskom festivalu u Ankari - IFSAK i nagrade na 11. internacionalnom festivalu “Dani kratkog filma” u Istanbulu, za svoje eksperimentalne radove. Jedan je od članova grupe NOMAD. Radi kao predavač na odseku dizajna vizuelnih komunikacija na “Bahcesehir” univerzitetu u Istanbulu.

‘Lisičji ples’

BabaZula (TR), 2003, 1’

BabaZula je muzička grupa koju su 1996. godine osnovali Levent Akman (perkusije, ritam mašine, igračke), Murat Ertel (saz i drugi žičani instrumenti, vokal) i Emre Onel (darbuka, sempler, vokal) u Istanbulu, a 2003. im se pridružio Oya Erkaya (bas gitara, vokal). Muzika grupe BabaZula je u osnovi mešavina snimljenih zvukova prirode i tradicionalnih i savremenih akustičnih i elektronskih instrumenata, što stvara kulminaciju različitih elektronskih efekata. Počinjući sa improvizacijom, koja kasnije kroz snimanje i vežbu prerasta u muzičke elemente koji čine njihovu muziku, teme, melodije, stil i zvuk, grupa održava ovaj metod “defisane improvizacije” na koncertima u pozorišnim predstavama, filmovima, u korišćenju videa, slajdova i filmova, pripremljenih od strane dodatnih članova koji su se priključili srži grupe na njihovim nastupima uživo. Debi album sastava Baba Zula je “Tabutta Rovasata” (Pevrtanje u kovčegu) uključujući i originalni soundtrack za Derviš Zaimov prvi film iz 1996. Njihov album “3 Oyundan 17 Müzik” izlazi 1999. Baba Zula je radila soundtrack i za film “Renkli Türkçe” (Obojeno i na turskom). Nastupali su na Efes Pilsen festivalu i Mediteranskom filmskom festivalu, a imali su i velike nastupe kao što je “Printemps de Bourges”. Njihov poslednji album “Psychobelly Dance Professor” koji je izašao u maju 2003, je masterizovao Mad Professor.

“Diagonal Escape”

Ergün Yıldiz (TR), 2001, 1’

“Diagonal Escape” prikazuje trenutak mobilnosti, kao neophodne činjenice preživljavanja u gradu. Autor Ergün Yıldiz je diplomirao 2001. godine na slikarskom departmanu na univerzitetu Marmara.

“Vertigo”

Tugçe Ulugün Tuna (TR), 2002, 3’

“Vertigo” je deo plesnog performansa, koji se zasniva na odnosu pokreta i prostora. Izvođač ispituje granice, mogućnosti i transformaciju pokreta tela u odnosu na silu gravitacije i na prostor. Tugçe Ulugün Tuna je koreograf i plesačica. Diplomirala je na M.S.U. državnom konzervatorijumu, na odseku za moderan ples. Pohađala je magistarske studije tokom 1998 na univerzitetu Mimar Sinan, na fakultetu društvenih nauka, sa temom “Upotreba spoljašnjeg prostora u plesu” i koreografijom “AR’a”. Doktorirala je na istom univerzitetu, a od 1996 predaje moderan ples na MSU, Istanbul.

“Srbija u kontejneru”, dokumentarni film o ekonomskoj i moralnoj propasti jedne zemlje i njenog naroda

Janko Baljak (SCG), 2003, DV, 80’

Da li je propast reformi sudbina koju Srbija ne može da izbegne? Zašto su svi lideri koji su zemlju pokušavali da uvedu u Evropu uklonjeni? Kako ekonomski interesi ujedinjuju političare, mafiju i kriminal? “Srbija u kontejneru” nije samo priča o smrti reformi i o usudu reformatora od smrti Josipa Broza Tita, pa do atentata na premijera Zorana Đinđića. “Srbija u kontejneru” detaljno analizira šta je bio uzrok propadanja reformi, govori o “prokletstvu reformatora” čija je sudbina da budu u žrvnju između socijalnih tenzija, političkih pritisaka, slabih institucija... Janko Baljak se tokom devedesetih i u prvim godinama novog veka bavio dokumentarnim filmom. Autor je niza ostvarenja koji su uspehom prikazivani u zemlji i inostranstvu. Među njima su filmovi „Vidimo se u čitilji” i „Anatomija bola”. Takođe je autor desetine televizijskih emisija iz oblasti kulture i umetnosti. Jedan je od osnivača i glavnih autora filmske produkcije B92 nastale 1993. godine. Od septembra 1995, zaposlen je kao asistent-pripravnik, a potom i asistent profesora Gorana Markovića na prvoj godini filmske režije. Septembra 2003. postaje docent i predaje osnove filmske režije za studente svih filmskih grupa na Fakultetu dramskih umetnosti u Beogradu.

“Kenedi se vraća kući”

Želimir Žilnik (SCG), 2003, 74’

Tokom 2002. godine, u skladu sa pravilima Evropske unije, mnoge jugoslovenske porodice (među njima i mnogo Roma) koje su napustile zemlju da bi izbegle rat, bivaju deportovane nazad u Srbiju i Crnu Goru, nakon deset godina provedenih u zapadnoj Evropi. Bez novca, zaposlenja, mesta za život i društvene komunikacije. Kako je moguće preživeti u ovakvim uslovima? Žilnikov kritički, dokumentarni film prati Kenedija, vozača taksija, koji tokom dana i noći dovodi ove ljude sa aerodroma u ilegalna skloništa u okolini Beograda. Želimir Žilnik je rođen 1942. godine u Srbiji, Jugoslavija. Njegov prvi film Rani Radovi je nagrađen ‘Zlatnim medvedom’ na ‘Berlinale’ internacionalnom filmskom festivalu 1969. godine. Filmovi ovog reditelja novog jugoslovenskog filma bili su zvanično zabranjeni. 1973. godine, Žilnik je emigrirao u Federalnu republiku Nemačku, gde je snimao kratke filmove o položaju stranih radnika i o terorizmu. Zbog toga je proteran iz zemlje 1976. godine kada se vratio u Jugoslaviju. Od tada, Žilnik radi kao režiser nezavisnih i dokumentarnih filmova.



Screening program at Trans_European Picnic

“Shoes for Europe”

Pavel Braila (MD), 2002, film shot on DV transferred to DVD, 26’

“Shoes for Europe” probes a politically enforced East-West-differentiation – against the backdrop of historical transition – as inscribed into the everyday experience of traveling and commuting. In the small frontier train station of Ungheni at the Moldavian-Romanian border, every train stops for three hours and is lifted two meters in the air to change wheels from Russian Gauge used in Moldova to Standard Gauge used in Romania and Western Europe. The trains’ laborious passage between East and West (which is illegally recorded by the artist since no shooting is officially allowed in the Moldavian border area) hosts a double fantasy structure of an ever growing desire to gain access to Western Europe, with the prevailing notion demanding the homogenization of communicative and technological tools to neutralize distance and place. Shot in digital video, two images are projected mirroring the ever-present subjects of how to locate and mediate subjectivity in times of fragmentation, dislocation and a new myth of transnational identity. Working in video and performances, Pavel Braila has developed a subjective vocabulary in which the traversal of space has taken on a broad range of culturally and economically coded significances. Pavel has performed and exhibited widely internationally.



‘Do you know anything about Polish art?’

Hubert Czerepok (PL) in collaboration with M. Bakke, 2002, 14’47”

The video is a sort of documentary, wherein all interviewed people are asked whether they know anything about Polish art. In addition they are also questioned whether they have any knowledge about particular incidents related to censoring art in Poland within the past years. After a while one realises that the people answering the questions are not really familiar with the subject, and just repeat clichés. At the end of the video it is almost certain that the viewer ends up knowing much less about Polish art than before. Hubert Czerepok (PL) was born in Slubice in Poland. He has MFA in sculpture and drawing from the Academy of Fine Arts in Poznan (PL). He spent half a year in Norway, in the research program of the National Academy of Fine Arts in Oslo. From 2002-2003 he was a researcher at the Fine Arts Department of the Jan van Eyck Academy in Maastricht. Currently he is based in Antwerp (B), where he attends the HISK (Higher Institute for Fine Arts). Hubert has shown work a.o. in Poland, The Netherlands, Estonia, Latvia and Germany.



‘Wood Car’

Joost Conijn (NL), 2002, 31’

In the summer of 2001 Joost Conijn built a car. The car is made out of wood, and runs on wood as well, using wood as fuel instead of petrol. With this wood car Conijn undertakes a journey through several countries in Eastern Europe: Romania, Ukraine, Albania. Independent from petrol, he leaves conventional roads behind him. There is no preset destination. The artist travels towards the unknown, the camera covers it all. The main plan is to make a film about the unexpected the wood car will engender. In order to keep the motor running, Conijn travels through woods. Across little villages, people guide him to local saw-mills and offer him some food and spare wood. The car serves as an artless intermediary. Starting point for the work of Joost Conijn is the artist’s fascination for other worlds, alternative ways of life just outside the accommodated environment. Travelling is to him like an uncontrollable urge, just like his need for adventure. Every journey unravels an accumulation of unforeseen events and ingenious exchange. “Wood car” stems from Conijn’s desire to move and transport himself independently and open-mindedly, questioning cultural presumptions connected to dominant frameworks in western society. His former films “Car on roof” (1996), “C’est une hek” (1997) and “Airplane” (2000) mainly focus on the vehicle: the mechanics and the notion of moving. Currently, his point of view is gradually shifting towards people and cultures close to life’s basic conditions.

‘Sofia’

Milica Lapčević, Vladimir Šojat, Vamši, Nebojša Milenković, (SCG), 2004, 4’

We have chosen this example to draw attention to how an individual subject’s agency can establish frames of standardization, which can surpass those established on a local, as well as on a universal level. Sophia Basic is only an example which clearly illustrates that even a mere change in the system by the implementation of a different set of standards, can abolish tendencies which at first sight seem in accord with that very system, such as maintaining a small private business. The abandonment of Sophia’s economic model favors local standardization - not necessarily conform to EU models - above individual subsistence. However, the form of her resistance and rebellion remind us that we should approach matters of standardization in local communities with an open mind. Issues such as human rights, humanity and empathy towards special cases, are to be taken into account. The current situation in Serbia leaves governmental authorities in a standardization quagmire, while trying to navigate between the old communist structures, new structures, and policies coming from the EU. No wonder that this state of confusion leads to a loss in value systems, and a disregard for those victimized by the latter.

Video and Film selection by NOMAD (TR)

NOMAD (TR) is an independent formation founded in 2002. It targets to produce and experiment new patterns in the digital art sphere by using various lenses of other disciplines. The core of the formation consists of designers, engineers, architects, curators and writers. Therefore, the infrastructure is based on technical and theoretical levels to provide collaborations with affiliations of artists. <http://www.nomad-tv.net>



“Four Images”

Hatice Güleriyüz, 2004, 22’

Hatice Güleriyüz’ films orbit around the mental states of suppressing social situations. She associates and reflects on these mental states with hard-hitting physical conditions. She describes Four Images as “A film about a suggestion of a memory-image, or the representation of fragmentary moments of recollection that happen in the mind”. Hatice Güleriyüz studied fine arts in Turkey, attended artist-in-residence programmes in Berlin, Munich, and London. She obtained her MFA from the Hogeschool voor de Kunsten Arnhem (NL), and from the Willem de Kooning Academie, Rotterdam (NL). From 2002-2003 Hatice was a researcher at the Fine Arts Department of the Jan van Eyck Academie, Maastricht (NL).

“No (or bad signal)”

Ali Demirel, 1998 - 2004, 2’

No (or bad signal) shows a state of mobility fused into the transmitting confusion of broadcasting technology, and operation logic. Ali Demirel studied Architecture and Audio-Visual Media at Middle-East Technical University. He is an independent video artist with a serious experimental edge. Instead of using video images to create a narrative, he uses loop-based found or shot images, to reach a sensory stimulation which is minimal and hypnotic. He makes videos since 1993, focusing on minimal, repetitive, detached, hypnotic images.

"Blatta(nt) Orientalis(t)"

Erhan Muratoglu, 2003, 55"

Blatta(nt) Orientalis(t) is a computer generated animation with 3D oversized cockroaches trying to find an exit, running around hasty, gathering in corners and behaving like a herd with no organization. The video track is paired with a soundtrack directly referring to the realm of computer arcade games, where the player is kept always on the run to proceed throughout the game. The name of the work involves black humour, which is incorporated throughout the work. Erhan Muratoglu is an interactive designer and digital artist. He studied Industrial Design and Graphic Design, and worked and exhibited in Turkey, United Kingdom and United States with his computer graphic generated projects. He was awarded by Kodak, 11th. International Ankara Film Festival, Ifsak, and 11th. International Istanbul Short-film Days for his experimental films. He is one of the members of NOMAD. Erhan works as a lecturer in the Department of Visual Communication Design of Bahcesehir University, Istanbul.

"Fox Dance"

Babazula, 2003, 1'

Fox Dance is a video clip created as a stop-motion animation. The piece is based on our relationship with life through objects and ideas in motion. BabaZula is a music group, founded in 1996 by Levent Akman (percussion, rhythm machines, toys), Murat Ertel (saz and other strings,vocal) and Emre Onel (darbuka, sampler, vocal) in Istanbul. In 2003 they were joined by Oya Erkaya (bass guitar,vocal). BabaZula's music is basically an amalgamation of recorded natural sounds with both traditional and modern acoustic and electronic musical instruments: a culmination of disparate electronic effects. Starting out with improvisations, later fixed into musical elements which make up their music such as theme, tune, style and sound, reached through recordings and rehearsals, the group has carried their method of "defined improvisation" into concerts, movies, and theatrical plays. The use of video, slides and films in their live performances, is prepared by additional members, who have joined forces with the core group. BabaZula's debut album, "Tabutta Rovasata (Somersault in the Coffin)", including the original soundtrack for Dervis Zaim's first movie, was released in 1996. Their album, "3 Oyundan 17 Müzik" was released in 1999. BabaZula made the soundtrack of the film "Renkli Türkçe (Colored and in Turkish)". They performed in Efes Pilsen Festival and Mediteranneen Film Festival, and also had big scale concerts such as "Printemps de Bourges". Their latest album "Psychobelly Dance Professor" was released in May 2003, mastered by Mad Professor.

"Diagonal Escape"

Ergün Yıldız 2001, 1'

Diagonal Escape captures a decisive moment of being mobile in order to survive in the city. Ergün Yıld graduated from the Department of Painting at Marmara University in 2001. Since then, he has exhibited on many international exhibitions.

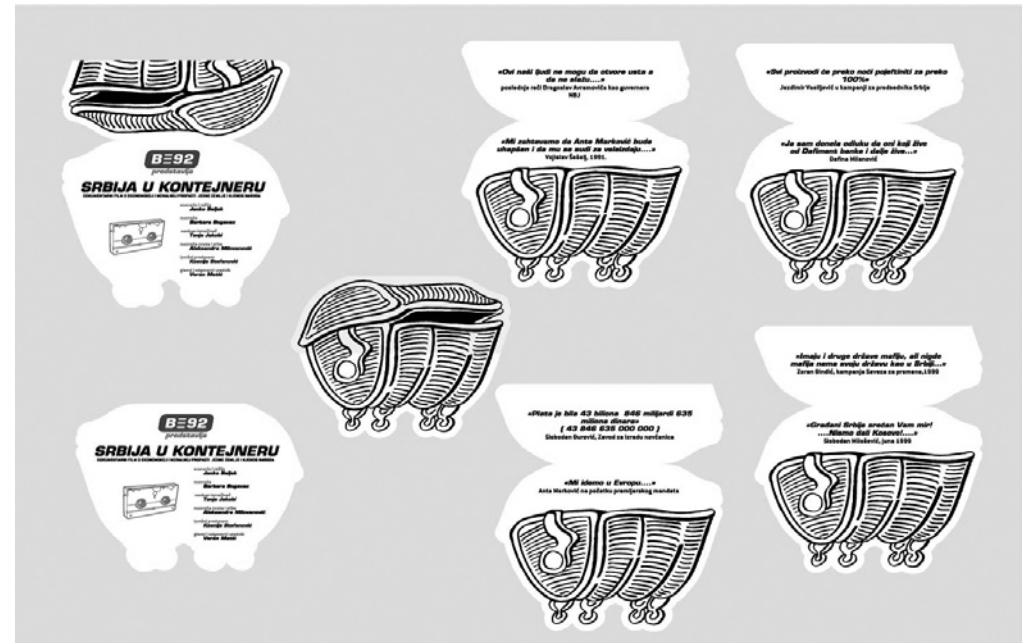
"Vertigo", Tuğçe Ulugün Tuna, 2002 (3')

Vertigo is an extract from a dance performance. The performance is based on the relationship between motion and space. Performers examine the limits, appropriation, and transformation of body motion for and against gravity and space. Tuğçe Ulugün Tuna is a choreographer and dancer. She graduated from M.S.U. State Conservatory, at the Modern Dance Department. She obtained her MA in 1998 from Mimar Sinan University, at the Social Sciences Faculty, with the dissertation "Usage of Exterior Space in Dance" and the choreography "AR'a" (Site specific) Ist.Academy Cinema April 1998. She holds a Ph.D. M.S.U in Performing Arts from the Social Sciences Faculty. She works as a lecturer in the modern dance dept. of MSU, Istanbul since 1996.

'Serbia in a Trash Can', documentary film about the economic and moral decline of a country and its people

Janko Baljak (SCG), 2003, 80'

Is the failure of reform a fate Serbia is unable to avoid? Why have all the leaders that have tried to bring the country closer to Europe been eliminated? In what way do economic interests unite politicians, the mafia and other criminals? Serbia in a Trash Can is not only a story about the death of reform and the fate of reformers since the death of Josip Broz Tito right up to the assassination of Serbian premier Zoran Đinđić, but a detailed analysis of the causes of the failure of reforms, and examines the 'Curse of Reformers' whose fate it has been to be steam-rollered between social unrest, political pressure and weak institutions. Throughout the nineties and in the first years of the new century Janko Baljak has concerned himself with documentary film. He is the author of a series of productions which have been acclaimed both at home and abroad. Among these works are See You in the Obituaries (Videmo se u čitulji) and Anatomy of Pain (Anatomija bola). He is likewise the author of a dozen or so television programs dealing with culture and the arts. He is one of the founders and leading creative voices



behind B92 Film Productions, established in 1993. In September 1995, he was employed firstly as a teaching assistant, and then as an assistant lecturer to Prof. Goran Marković, who lectures in film direction in the first year of studies at the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade. In September 2003, he became a senior lecturer and currently teaches an introductory course in film direction to students from all film disciplines at the same faculty.

"Kenedi comes back home"

Želimir Žilnik (SCG), 2003, 74'

In 2002, complying with an European Union ruling, Yugoslavian families (among them many Roma) who had fled their land to escape the war, were deported to Serbia and Montenegro after a stay of ten years in Western Europe. However, the newold homeland has meanwhile become strange to them. There is no money, work, living accommodation, and social contact. How is it possible to survive under these conditions? Žilnik's critical documentary film accompanies the taxi driver Kenedi, who, day and night, brings these uprooted people from the airport to the illegal settlements on the outskirts of Belgrade. Želimir Žilnik was born in Serbia, Yugoslavia, in 1942. His first film, Rani Radovi (Early Works), was awarded the 'Golden Bear' at the Berlinale international film festival of 1969. In Serbia, the works of this director of the New Yugoslavian Cinema were officially banned. In 1973, he immigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany, where his short films critically commented on the situation of foreign workers, and on terrorism. He was therefore expelled from the country in 1976, and returned to Yugoslavia. Since then, Žilnik has worked as an independent documentary film-maker.



Moderatori i govornici Trans_ evropskog foruma

Edit Andrés (HU), govornik

Edit je istoričar umetnosti i kritičar. Radi na Institutu za istraživanje istorije umetnosti pri Mađarskoj akademiji nauka u Budimpešti. Od 1990-1992 i od 1997-2003 je bila njujorški dopisnik za mađarske časopise koji se bave umetnošću, kao Új Művészet (Umetnost danas) i Műértő (Mađarski art žurnal). Zbirka njenih eseja o savremenoj američkoj umetnosti u devedesetim je objavljena u Budimpešti 2001 i nazvana je Rope-dancing (Ples na konopcu). Drugo glavno polje njenog interesovanja je savremena umetnost u državama bivšeg istočnog bloka, posebno u Mađarskoj imajući u vidu pitanja tranzicije. Takođe su je interesovala i pitanja pola i teorija umetnosti. Edit je učestvovala na nekoliko konferencija, a među njima su: "Preživljavajući slobodu: vizuelna umetnost u Mađarskoj od 1989" na Rutgers univerzitetu (SAD), "Nakon Zida. Umetnost i kultura u post-komunističkoj Evropi" na Moderna Museet Stokholm (Švedska), konferencija "Novac/Nacija", Shedhalle Zurich (Švajcarska), "Saradnja. Međunarodni forum feminističke umetnosti i teorije" u Dubrovniku (Hrvatska), i "Nasleđe modernizma i imperativ modernosti" na godišnjoj konferenciji AICA, nazvanoj "Strategije moći" Zagreb (Hrvatska). Izdaje nekoliko mađarskih art magazina. Njeni eseji na engleskom su objavljivani u katalogima Mađarskog paviljona na Venecijanskom bijenalu 1997 i 1999, katalogu izložbe "Nakon Zida" u Stokholmu 1999, n.paradoxa on-line , artmargins on-line i "MoneyNations. Constructing the Border – Constructing East-West", Beč 2003.

Luchezar Boyadjiev (BG), govornik

Umetnik. Rođen u Sofiji u Bugarskoj 1957. Završio Nacionalnu akademiju umetnosti, Sofija 1980. Trenutni projekti: "Post-komunističko stanje", Kunstwerke, Berlin; Red Riviera Revisited, ICA, Sofija; Nuit Blanche, grad Pariz, sve 2004. godine. Skorašnje samostalne izložbe: "Hot City Visual", ICA, Sofija 2003; Knoll Gallery, Beč 2001; "E-FACE 2000" u Art/Media/Center TV Gallery, Moskva 2000. Skorašnja predavanja i prezentacije: "Identity Overkill". Intermedia Dept., Akademija umetnosti Budimpešta; Seminar: "Stvaranje potrošačkog identiteta u javnom prostoru. Vizuelni identitet post-socijalističkog grada". Centar za umetnost i kulturu, Centralnoevropski univerzitet, Budimpešta. Skorašnje publikacije: "Sofija kao prizor. Luchezar Boyadjiev; Mila Mineva". Vizuelni seminar, Resident Fellows program, ICA / CAS, Sofija; Archis Magazine, # 6, 2003, Amsterdam, Holandija. Skorašnje grupne izložbe: "U ždrelu Balkana", Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kasel, Nemačka; "Krv i med", The Essl Collection, Klosterneuburg/ Beč 2003; "U potrazi za Balkanijom", Neue Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, Grac, Austrija; Manifesta 4, Frankfurt; "Rekonstrukcija", Četvrto bijenale Cetine, Crna Gora; "Kolektivna nesvest", MIGROS Museum, Ciriš 2002; "Konverzacija", Muzej savremene umetnosti Beograd; "Beg", Prvo bijenale, Tirana 2001; "Négociations", CRAC, Sète, France; "L'Autre moitié de l'Europe", Galerie nationale du Jeu de Paume, Paris; "Beskorisno(Bezvređno)", Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana, Slovenija 2000.

Vuk Ćosić (SI), moderator

Penzionisani net i ascii umetnik. Rođen je 1966. u Beogradu, Jugoslavija. Trenutno živi u Ljubljani, Slovenija. Najpoznatiji kao pionir Internet umetnosti i autor brojnih net.art projekata. Predavač, pisac i kustos. Izlagao, izdavao i radio kao kustos internacionalno. Suosnivač je Nettime, Syndicate, 7-11 mailing lista i Ljubljana Digital Media Lab. Najbitnije izložbe uključuju: Venecijansko bijenale; Walker Center, Minneapolis; Postmasters, Njujork; Kunsthalle, Beč; Stedelijk, Amsterdam; LAMoCA, LA; ICA, London; ZKM, Karlsruhe; Beaubourg, Pariz. Neki mediji u kojima je objavljivan: Suck, HotWired, ORF, Spiegel, Britannica, Newsweek, Artforum, NYTimes, El Pais...

Galia Dimitrova (BG), govornik

Galia Dimitrova je kuratorka i koordinator umetničkog programa "InterSpace Media Art Centre" u Sofiji od 1999 godine. Diplomirala je istoriju i teoriju umetnosti na Nacionalnoj Umetničkoj Akademiji u Sofiji, 1999 godine. Objavila je brojne tekstove o savremenoj bugarskoj umetnosti. Njena profesionalna interesovanja su fokusirana na umetnost novih medija, internet projekte i interaktivne instalacije. Njeni kuratorski projekti su: "Urban Cycles", "Macrovideo" (video instalacije na javnom mestu), "Schizoid Architecture" (net-art), itd. Bila je selektor zvaničnih bugarskih učesnika na 9-tom bijenalu u Kairu, 2004 godine. Galia je glavni koordinator "Net User International Internet Conference" koja se održava svake druge godine u Sofiji.

Andrej Grubačić (SCG), govornik

Andrej Grubačić je istoričar i saradnik većeg broja međunarodnih časopisa i inicijativa progresivne orijentacije. Saradnik je časopisa "Z", Medija Instituta u Bostonu i autor brojnih radova posvećenih neoliberalnoj globalizaciji. Jedan je od osnivača 'Institut for the Research of the Global Movement' pri Univerzitetu u Ljubljani, Slovenija. Autor je knjige "Globalizacija nepristajanja" (Svetovi, Novi Sad, 2003.) kao i knjige "The Global Movement" (u štampi, na engleskom jeziku).

Stephen Kovats (CA/NL), moderator

Kanadski arhitekta i istraživač Stephen Kovats je proveo prethodnih deset godina u Nemačkoj, osnivajući i uvodeći programe vezane za umetnost i kulturu medija u "Bauhaus Dessau" fondaciji. Njegov "Studio Electronic Media Interpretation", ugostio je brojne internacionalne projekte, simpozijume i izložbe koji su istraživali odnos između medijskog prostora, kulturne politike i elektronske umetnosti. 2000-te je objavio knjigu "MEDIA · REVOLUTION" čime je obuhvatio serijal foruma "Ostranenie International Electronic Media Forum" fokusirajući se na ulogu koju su imale umetnost i kultura medija u procesu društvene transformacije u centralnoj i istočnoj Evropi. Tokom ovog perioda osnovao je nekoliko programa razmene i umrežavanja usmerenih ka kulturi medija uključujući ArCHI-ToNOMY, EMARE, ECX i trenutno aktuelan Bauhauskolleg, multidisciplinarni program magistarskih sudija alternativnog urbanog dizajna. Nakon toga je, baziran u New York-u, razvio komunikacione i radne strategije za mobilne medije i projekte urbane rekonstrukcije uključujući i pokretanje novog urbanističkog master-plana za Adis Abebu, glavni grad Etiopije. Trenutno, Kovač se bavi razvojem programa u V2_Institutu za nestabilne medije u Roterdamu.

Ivana Momčilović (B/SCG), govornik

Dramaturg. Od 1991. godine ne piše fikciju. Od iste godine aktivna u kolektivu Emigrative art, Belgija, nastalom iz želje umetnika i ne-umetnika bivše federacije za favorizovanjem zabranjenih susreta eks-Jugoslovena kao jedinog (preostalog) umetničkog rada. Od 1998. članovi kolektiva otpočinju sa direktnim uključivanjem u lokalne politike zamajla u kojima žive. Belgijski deo kolektiva deli do 2002. političku borbu sa pobunjenim radnicima željezare Klabeek i Renoa- Vilvord, kao i Pokretom osoba bez papira. 2002- copyleft izdanje knjige "Zbogom partije, ljudi misle/ljudi govore".

Petar Milat (HR), govornik

Petar Milat, jedan je od voditelja odsjeka za teoriju "past.forward" (www.pastforward.org) u net.kulturnom centru MaMa. Urednik je više filozofskih, socijalno-i-medijsko-teorijskih edicija u Zagrebu ("MaMa", "Jesenski & Turk"). Bavi se ponajprije konstelacijama suvremene socijalno teorijske domene i recentnom estetikom, s naglaskom na francuski i talijanski filozofski kontekst. Živi i radi u trokutu Beograd-Korčula-Zagreb.

Nat Muller (NL), moderator

Nat Muller free-lance pisac, kustos, kritičar, organizator i kreator. Diplomirala je Englesku književnost na univerzitetu u Tel-Avivu (Izrael), magistrirala na rodnoj teoriji na univerzitetu u Saseksu (UK), a nedavno je okončala dvogodišnje istraživanje na teoretskom odelu "Jan van Ajk" akademije u

Mastrihtu. Radila je kao nastavnik seksualnog obrazovanja, knjižar, nezavisni novinar, projekt menadžer i kustos u V2_Organisation, institutu za nestabilne medije u Rotterdamu i u Axis, biro za rod i umetnost u Amsterdamu. Nat Muller je objavila članke u štampanim medijima i na Internetu i održala prezentacije o tehnološki medija i umetnosti u zemlji i inostranstvu. Član je FoAM-a, umetničke i medijske zajednice u Briselu. Glavna interesovanja su joj: interakcija između računara i čoveka; hrana i društvena komunikacija; presek estetike, tehnologije i politike ; (novi) mediji i umetnost u istočnoj Evropi i Bliskom istoku.

Marion von Osten (DE), govornik

Marion von Osten, rođena 1963. godine je umetnica i autor brojnih projekata. Studirala je umetničku Akademiju i filozofiju u Karlsrue i u Bohumu. Bila je kurator u "Shedhalle" u Cirihu od 1996-98. Radi kao predavač kritičke umetničke prakse u školi za vizuelne umetnosti i dizajn u Cirihu od 1999. godine. Objavljuje u brojnim izdanjima, među kojima su Texte zu Kunst, A.N.Y.P., Springerin, Ojeblikket, Opening i u feminističkim magazinima, video radovima i instalacijama koje se bave pitanjem pola, urbanih i ekonomskih tema. Član je kolektiva k3000. Autor je višegodišnjeg kolaborativnog projekta "Moneynations". Živi u Berlinu i Cirihu.

Teofil Pančić (SCG), govornik

Novinar, nekadašnji glavni i odgovorni urednik informativno-političkog nedeljnika "Vreme". Drži do aplauza i zvižduka koje dobija. Ne voli samo kada neko ostane ravnodušan. Pokušava da doprinese "potpunoj, neometanoj slobodi proizvodnje javne reči, što je najhigijenskija stvar na svetu".

Bojana Petrić (HU/SCG), govornik

Rođena 1967. godine u Novom Sadu. Bavi se primenjenom lingvistikom i edukacijom. Kao član asocijacije APSOLUTNO, učestvovala u brojnim simpozijumima, festivalima i izložbama savremene umetnosti i novih medija. Učestvovala na konferencijama o primenjenoj lingvistici i objavljivala u lingvističkim časopisima (System, Novelty, Writing Center Journal). Predaje akademsko pisanje na Centralno-evropskom univerzitetu u Budimpešti. Trenutno radi na doktorskoj disertaciji o citatu i intertekstualnosti u akademskom pisanju (na univerzitetu Eotvos Lorand u Budimpešti).

Basak Senova (TR), govornik

Basak Senova je kuratorka, pisac i dizajner. Živi u Istanbulu. Studirala je književnost i grafički dizajn (magistar grafičkog dizajna i doktorat iz umetnosti, dizajna i arhitekture na Bilkent univerzitetu). Učestvovala je na sedmom "Stichting De Appel" programu za kustose u Amsetrdamu; piše o umetnosti, tehnologijama i mass medijima od 1995. godine; uređuje izložbe i inicira projekte u Turskoj i Evropi od 1996. godine. Bila je urednik "art-ist 6". Basak je jedan od osnivača grupe NOMAD. Tokom 2003 godine, kroz aktivnosti ove grupe, pokrenula je "ctrl-alt-del" (zajedno sa partnerima iz Holandije), prvi umetnički projekat u Turskoj zasnovan na zvuku; radila je na Istanbulskom bijenalu; uređivala je "Contemporary Plastic" u Mastrihtu i razvila projekte u Istanbulu kroz izložbe, performanse i filmske programe: "Istanbul, Daydreaming in Quarantine" <rotor>, Graz i "Walking Istanbul, Notes from the Quarantine", The Israeli Center of Digital Art, Holon (sa Erden Kosova, Erhan Muratoglu, Ozlem Ozkal i Emre Erkal). U 2004. godini, pokrenula je novi NOMAD projekat - "Loosing Control" (u saradnji sa The Israeli Center of Digital Art) u Istanbulu, i koordiniraće NOMAD sekciju na izložbi "Call Me Istanbul", koju priređuje u ZKM, Karlsrue, Nemačka. Trenutno radi kao predavač na odseku za umetnički menadžment na T.C. Yeditepe univerzitetu u Istanbulu.

Florian Schneider (DE), govornik

Florian Schneider je pisac, filmski režiser i medijski aktivista. Njegov rad istražuje nove komunikacione tehnologije i migracione režime, kao i proces umrežavanja različitih inicijativa. Schneider je jedan od inicijatora " No One is Illegal" kampanje i jedan od osnivača inicijative "Noborder Network", organizacije koja se bavi kritikom strogih graničnih režima. Takođe je pokretač evropske Internet platforme D-A-S-H. 2001 godine je organizovao festival "Make World" u Minhenu, i "Metabolics", seriju predavanja o internet umetnosti i kulturi. Takođe je radio na nekoliko dokumentaraca za nemačko-francusku televizijsku stanicu, Arte, uključujući dokumentarac "What's to be done?" o savremenom društvenom aktivizmu. Schneider takođe objavljuje tekstove za mnoge nemačke časopise.

Milos Vojtechovský (CZ), govornik

Rođen u Pragu 1955, diplomirao je istoriju umetnosti i estetiku na Čarls univerzitetu 1980. Još od ranih '80-tih se bavi nezavisnim radom na poljima muzike, vizuelnih umetnosti, action art-a, a radio je i kao kustos. On je istraživač, inicijator, ko-producent i ko-autor interaktivnog edukativnog projekta "Orbis Pictus Revised" u saradnji sa ZKM (Zentrum fur Kunst und Technology) Karlsruhe. Miloš je osnivač "The Metamedia Center Project" u Plasy Monastery, inicijator Hermit Fondacije i kustos Zbirke moderne i savremene umetnosti u Nacionalnoj galeriji u Pragu. Predaje u oblasti umetnosti medija, savremene umetnosti i studijama komunikacija na Akademiji umetnosti pri Tehničkom univerzitetu u Brnu. Pored toga radi u Artmedialabu koja je u vezi sa Centrom za savremenu umetnost u Pragu. Od 2000 vodi projekat www.radiojeleni.cz koji se prenosi putem radija.

Dimitrije Vujadinović. (SCG) , govornik

Rođen 1951. godine, diplomirani ekonomista. Do 1985. radio kao novinar. Od 1986 – 1991. radio kao istraživač u Centru za proučavanje kulturnog razvitka Srbije, a zatim kao direktor "Eko-centra". 1991 je osnovao nevladin istraživački centar "Plavi zmaj" u Sremskim Karlovcima, i radio na funkciji direktora. Osnivač Regionalne nevladine organizacije "BalkanKul't, i na funkciji direktora je do danas. Prvih šest meseci 2001, bio je specijalni savetnik Ministra za kulturu u vladi Srbije. Učesnik je preko 30 obimnih istraživanja iz oblasti kulture i socio – ekologije; autor knjiga i urednik knjige "Razvojni aspekt industrija kulture". Generalni je sekretar jugoslovenskog komiteta Uneskovog programa "Čovek i biosfera"; član Udruženja novinara Jugoslavije, Nezavisnog udruženja novinara Srbije i Međunarodne asocijacije novinara iz Brisela i član Evropske kulturne mreže CIRCLE i jedan od osnivača Evropskog istraživačkog instituta za komparativnu kulturnu politiku i umetnost iz Bona.

Wato Tsereteli (GE), govornik

Wato je umetnik, kustos i kreativni administrator maf_media art farm u Tbilisiju (Gruzija). Nakon studija filma u Gruziji, magistrirao je fotografiju na Akademiji umenosti u Antverpenu u Belgiji. Od povratka u Tbilisi počeo je sa radom na kulturnoj meteorologiji Kavkaza. Skroman rezultat ove njegove aktivnosti je dvogodišnji projekat APPENDIX. Ova međunarodna izložba je trebalo da bude relativno mala, ali intenzivno događaj usmeren ka integrisanju nove Kavkaskе savremene umetnosti unutar jednog šireg konteksta. Trenutno Wato radi na više različitih izložbi.

Moderators and Speakers at Trans_European Picnic

Edit András (HU), speaker

Is a Hungarian art historian and art critic. She is a senior research fellow at the Research Institute for Art History of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest. From 1990-1992 and from 1997-2003 she was the New York correspondent for Hungarian Art magazines, like Új Művészet (Art Today) and Műértő (Hungarian Art Journal). Her volume of collected essays on contemporary American art in the nineties was published in Budapest, in 2001 entitled "Rope-dancing". Her other main focus is contemporary art in the ex-Eastern Block, especially in Hungary regarding questions of transition. She is also interested in gender issues and art theory. Edit participated in several conferences. Amongst them: "Surviving Freedom: Visual Arts in Hungary since 1989" at Rutgers University (US), "After the Wall. Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe" at the Moderna Museet Stockholm (SE), "Money/Nation" conference, Shedhalle Zurich (CH), "co-operation. International Forum for Feminist Art and Theory" in Dubrovnik (HR), and "The Legacy of Modernism and the imperative of Modernity" at the annual conference of AICA, entitled "Strategies of Power." Zagreb (HR). She publishes in several Hungarian art magazines. Her essays in English have been published in the catalogues of the Hungarian Pavilion of the Venice Biennial (1997, 1999), the catalogue of the exhibition "After the Wall", Stockholm (1999), n.paradoxa on-line , artmargins online, and "MoneyNations. Constructing the border – constructing East-West", Vienna, 2003.

Luchezar Boyadjiev (BG), speaker

Artist. Born in Sofia, Bulgaria in 1957. National Academy for Fine Arts, Sofia in 1980.

Current projects: "The Post-Communist condition", Kunstwerke, Berlin; Red Riviera Revisited, ICA, Sofia; Nuit Blanche, City of Paris all in 2004. Recent one-artist shows: "Hot City Visual", ICA, Sofia in 2003; Knoll Gallery, Vienna in 2001; "E-FACE 2000" in Art/Media/Center TV Gallery, Moscow, 2000. Recent presentations and lectures: "Identity Overkill". Intermedia Dept., Academy of Fine Arts, Budapest; Seminar: "The Construction of Consumer Identity in Public Space. The Visual Interface of the Post-socialist City". Center for Arts and Culture, Central European University, Budapest. Recent publications: "Sofia as a Sight. Luchezar Boyadjiev; Mila Mineva". Visual Seminar, Resident Fellows Program, ICA / CAS, Sofia; Archis Magazine, # 6, 2003, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Recent group shows: "In the Gorges of the Balkans", Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany, "Blood & Honey", The Essl Collection, Klosterneuburg/Vienna in 2003; "In Search of Balkania", Neue Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz, Austria; Manifesta 4, Frankfurt; "Reconstruction", 4th Biennial Cetinje, Montenegro; "The Collective Unconsciousness", MIGROS Museum, Zurich in 2002; "Konverzacija", MCA, Belgrade; "Escape", 1st Biennial, Tirana in 2001; "Négociations", CRAC, Sète, France; "L'Autre moitié de l'Europe", Galerie nationale du Jeu de Paume, Paris; "Worthless (Invaluable)", Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana, Slovenia in 2000.

Vuk Ćosić (SI), moderator

Retired net.artist and ascii artist. Born in 1966 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Currently lives in Ljubljana, Slovenia. Best known as internet art pioneer and author of numerous net.art projects. Lecturer, writer and curator, exhibited, published and curated internationally. Co founder of Nettime, Syndicate, 7-11 and Ljubljana Digital Media Lab. Most notable venues include: Venice Bienial; Walker Center, Minneapolis; Postmasters, NYC; Kunsthalle, Vienna; Stedelijk, Amsterdam; LAMoCA, LA; ICA, London; ZKM, Karlsruhe; Beaubourg, Paris; Some media: Suck, HotWired, ORF, Spiegel, Britannica, Newsweek, Artforum, NYTimes, El Pais...

Galia Dimitrova (BG), speaker

Galia Dimitrova is the curator and art program coordinator at InterSpace Media Art Centre, where she works since 1999. She graduated Art History and Theory at the National Fine Arts Academy, Sofia in 1999. She has published a number of articles on contemporary Bulgarian art. Her professional interest is in new media art, net-based projects and interactive installations. Among her curatorial projects are: "Urban Cycles", "Macrovideo" (public space video installations), "Schizoid Architecture" (net-art), etc. She was the curator of the official Bulgarian participation at 9th Cairo Biennial' 2004. She is the main coordinator of Net User International Internet Conference that takes place bi-annually in Sofia.

Andrej Grubačić (SCG), speaker

Historian Andrej Grubačić is a contributor to a large number of international periodicals, and is actively involved in progressively-orientated initiatives. He writes for "Z" magazine, works with the Media Institute in Boston, and is the author of a number of papers on neo-liberal globalisation. He is one of the founders of the Institute for the Research of the Global Movement which is attached to the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. He is the author of the books, The Globalization of Refusal (Globalizacija nepristajanja, Svetovi, Novi Sad, 2003), and The Global Movement (at press, in English).

Stephen Kovats (CA/NL), moderator

Canadian architect and media researcher Stephen Kovats spent a decade upon German unification designing and establishing media art and culture related programs at the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation. His Studio Electronic Media Interpretation studio hosted numerous international projects, symposia and exhibitions exploring the relationships between media space, political culture and electronic art. In 2000 he published MEDIA · REVOLUTION which wrapped up the "Ostranenie International Electronic Media Forum" series focusing on the role played by media art and culture upon the societal transformation process in Central and Eastern Europe. During this period he founded several media culture oriented exchange and network programs including ArCHI-ToNOMY, EMARE, ECX and the current Bauhauskolleg, a multidisciplinary post graduate program for alternative urban design. Thereafter, based in New York, he developed work and communications based strategies for mobile media and urban reconstruction projects including the initiation of a new urban Masterplan for the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa. Currently Kovats is programs developer at V2_Institute for the Unstable Media in Rotterdam.

Ivana Momčilović (B/SCG), speaker

Born in Belgrade. She left Yugoslavia and went to Belgium in 1992. Dramaturge. She has not been writing fiction since 1991. In 1992, she began working in the collective "Eimigrative Art" (Concentration culture camp), where the only artistic work was the forbidden meeting between the people of the ex-Federation (Louvain-La Neuve, Antwerp, Luxembourg). As of 1998, the collective works with the Movement of the People Without Papers of Belgium and the Cultural Committee for the defense of the 13 accused workers of Belgium's Clabec iron works, and the Renault factory in Vilvorde. The latest project of the Eimigrative Art is the publishing of the book "Farewell To Parties - People Think, People Speak".

Petar Milat (HR), speaker

Petar Milat is co-director in the department for theory "past forward" in net.culture center "mama" in Zagreb, and a free-lance researcher and translator. He is editor of several philosophical, social- and media theory series in Zagreb ("mama", "Jesenski & Turk"). Mostly interested in constellations of contemporary social theory and aesthetics, with the accent on French and Italian philosophical context.

Nat Muller (NL), moderator

Nat Muller is a free-lance writer, curator, critic, organizer and delight-maker. She holds a BA from Tel-Aviv University (Israel) in English Literature, an MA in Queer and Gender Theory from Sussex University (UK), and has recently completed a two-year research term at the Theory Department of the Jan van Eyck Academy in Maastricht. She has worked as a sex educator, bookshop keeper, free-lance journalist and as project manager and curator at V2_Organisation, Institute for Unstable Media in Rotterdam, and Axis, Bureau for Gender and the Arts in Amsterdam. Nat has published articles in off- and online media, and has given presentations on the subject of media technology and art (inter)nationally. She is a member of FoAM, an art and media collective in Brussels. Her main interests include: human computer interaction; food and social communication; the intersections of aesthetics, technology and politics; (new) media and art in Eastern Europe and the Middle-East.

Marion von Osten (DE), speaker

Marion von Osten is an artist and author born 1963 in West Germany. She studied Fine Arts and Philosophy in Karlsruhe and Bochum. She was Curator at Shedhalle Zürich from 1996-98, teaches critical art practice at School of Visual Arts and Design, Zurich since 1999, publishes in Texte zu Kunst, A.N.Y.P., Springerin, Ojeblikket, Opening and feminist magazines, videos and installation works dealing with gender, urban as well as economic issues, member of K3000, lives in Berlin and Zurich. Exhibitions (selection) since 1994 -2000: "Artists Select", Artists Space, New York, U.S.A., "When tekno turns to sound of poetry", Kunst-Werke Berlin, "Ausbruch der Zeichen", Künstlerwerkstatt Lothringerstraße Munich, "Park Fiction", St.Pauli Hamburg, "Disturban", Kunstraum München, "mitteln. raum vor ort", Kunstverein Bonn, "We are somewhere else (already)", Swiss Institute New York, "Public Space" Kunstverein Salzburg, Oreste Space, Venice Biennale, ZAC, Musee d'art Moderne, Paris, "don't stop/filme für die 90er", Frankfurter Kunstverein, "trans_actions", Gallery Art&Essai, Rennes, EuroVision2000, Cafe9, Prague/Brussel, "Dialog "Swiss Institute New York.

Teofil Pančić (SCG), speaker

Journalist Teofil Pančić has been editor-in-chief of 'Vreme', Serbian political magazine. He is a columnist that publishes his work in different newspapers and magazines. With his work, he tries to contribute to "complete, undisturbed freedom of public speech production, which is the most hygienic thing in the world!"

Bojana Petrić (HU/SCG), speaker

Born in 1967 in Novi Sad. Applied linguist and educator. As a member of association APSOLUTNO (Novi Sad), participated in numerous arts & new media symposia, festivals and exhibitions. Presented at applied linguistics conferences and published in linguistics journals (System, Novelty, Writing Center Journal). Teaches academic writing at Central European University in Budapest. Currently working on her doctoral dissertation on citation and intertextuality in academic writing (Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest).

Basak Senova (TR), speaker

Is a curator, writer and designer based in Istanbul. She studied both Literature and Graphic Design (MFA in Graphic Design and Ph.D. in Art, Design and Architecture at Bilkent University). She attended the 7th Curatorial Training Programme of Stichting De Appel, Amsterdam, has been writing on art, technology and mass media since 1995, and initiating projects and curating exhibitions both in Turkey and Europe since 1996. She was the editor of art-ist 6. Basak is one of the founding members of NOMAD. In 2003, through NOMAD, she developed "ctrl-alt-del" (a joint project with NL) as the first sound art project held in Turkey; she worked for the Istanbul Biennial; curated "Contemporary Plastic" with ROR, Marres, Maastricht; and developed Istanbul projects through exhibitions, performances and film programmes: "Istanbul, Daydreaming in Quarantine" <rotor>, Graz and "Walking Istanbul, Notes from the Quarantine", The Israeli Center of Digital Art, Holon (with Erden Kosova, Erhan Muratoglu, Ozlem Ozkal and Emre Erkal). She also developed projects for The Apartment Project, Istanbul. In 2004, she develops another NOMAD project "Loosing Control" (by collaborating with The Israeli Center of Digital Art) in Istanbul, and will coordinate the NOMAD section for ZKM (Karlsruhe, DE) "Call Me Istanbul" exhibition. She currently works as vice chair and lecturer at the Department of Art Management of T.C. Yeditepe University, Istanbul.

Florian Schneider (DE), speaker

Florian Schneider is a writer, filmmaker and net activist. He concentrates on how new communication and migration regimes are being attacked and undermined by critics of borders and networks. Schneider is one of the initiators of the "No One is Illegal" campaign and one of the founders of the "noborder network" and the Europe-wide Internet platform, D-A-S-H. In 2001 he designed and directed the make world festival in Munich, and organized metabolics, a series of lectures on net art and net culture. He has also worked on several documentaries for the German-French television station, Arte, including "What's to be done?" which looks at contemporary activism. He also writes for major German newspapers, magazines, journals and handbooks.

Milos Vojtechovský (CZ), speaker

Born in Prague 1955, he graduated in Art History and Aesthetic at Charles University, 1980. Since the early 80's he is involved in independent music, visual art, action art, and curatorial work. He is the initiator, researcher, co-producer and co-author of the interactive educational project "Orbis Pictus Revised" commissioned for ZKM Karlsruhe. Milos is founder of "The Metamedia Center Project" at the Plassy Monastery, initiator of The Hermit Foundation, and curator at The Collection of The Modern and Contemporary Art National Gallery Prague. He lectures in media art, contemporary art and communication studies at the Faculty of Fine Arts, at the Technical University Brno. In addition he works for The Artmedialab which is related to the Center for Contemporary Art in Prague. Since 2000 he runs the broadcasting project www.radiojel

Dimitrije Vujadinović (SCG), speaker

Born in 1951, he is B. Sc of Economics. Until 1985, he worked as a journalist. From 1986 – 1991 working with the Centre for Cultural Research of Serbia, as a researcher at first, and subsequently as the director of the "Eco-Centre". In 1991, he founded NGO research centre "The Blue Dragon" in Sremski Karlovci and have been working as a Director. 1999, he founded Regional NGO Association "BalkanKult" and worked as a Director till present 2001 (first four months). He was special Adviser of the Minister for Culture of Serbia. He had than 30 comprehensive researches in culture and socio-ecology. He is author of several books and editor of the book "Developing Aspect of Cultural Industries"; Editor-in-chief of the Cultural Policy Edition and BalkanKult Papers; Secretary General of the Yugoslav Committee of UNESCO's program "Man and Biosphere"; Member of the Journalist Association of Yugoslavia and the Independent Journalist Association of Serbia and International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) situated in Brussels; Member of the European Cultural Network CIRCLE and founding member of European Research Institute for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts (ERICArts) based in Bonn.

Wato Tsereteli (GE), speaker

Wato is an artist, curator and the creative administrator of ma_f media art farm in Tbilisi (GE). After studying film in Georgia he graduated as MA at the Department of Photography at the Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp (Belgium). Since he returned to Tbilisi he started to work on cultural meteorology in the Caucasus. The modest result of this activity is the biannual project APPENDIX. This international exhibition project is intended to be a small, but intense event oriented towards integrating young Caucasian contemporary art within a broader context. Currently Wato works on different mixed exhibition projects.

Trans_evropski forum PROGRAM / Trans_European Picnic PROGRAM

29 APR 04

Lokacija / Location: **kuda.org**

11:00 – 18:00h

Radionica o striming tehnologiji / Workshop: Connected Art Workers' Stream/OST-CODE, Guy Van Belle (NL/B)

20:00 – 22:00h

Lokacija: **Kulturni Centar Novog Sada** / Location: **Cultural Center Novi Sad**

Filmski program / Screenings: **Kenedi se vraća kući / Kenedi comes back home**, Želimir Žilnik (SCG), **Srbija u kontejneru / Serbia in Trash Can**, Janko Baljak (SCG)

30 APR 04

Lokacija: **Kulturni Centar Novog Sada** / Location: **Cultural Center Novi Sad**

11:00 – 11:30h

Otvaranje Trans_evropskog foruma / Trans_European Picnic Opening

11:30 - 13:00h

Debata 01: **Mediji i kultura u tranziciji / Media and Culture in Transition**

Uvodničari / Speakers: **Ivana Momčilović** (BE/SCG), Teofil Pančić (SCG), **Andrej Grubačić** (SCG), **Dimitrije Vujadinović** (SCG)

Moderator: **Kristian Lukić** (SCG)

13:00 – 14:30h

Debata 02: **Standardizovanje Evrope / Standardizing Europe**

Uvodničari / Speakers: **Bojana Petrić** (HU/SCG), **Lucezar Boyadjiev** (BG)

Moderator: **Stephen Kovats** (CA/HU/NL)

17:00 - 18:30h

Debata 03: **Standardizovanje Evrope / Standardizing Europe**

Uvodničari / Speakers: **Edith Andras** (HU), **Wato Tsereteli** (GE)

Moderator: **Nat Muller** (NL)

11:30 – 22:30h

Otvoreni prostor za prezentacije / Open Project Space

Money Nations / Atelier Europa, Marion von Osten (DE); Schengen Information System, Vladan Joler (SCG); GastARTbeiter, Lucezar Boyadjiev (BG); FM@dia FORUM 04 / The Lost Expedition, Milos Vojtechovsky (CZ); Futura Publikacije, Novi Sad (SCG); Virco, Centar za savremenu umetnost Beograd / Center for Contemporary Art Belgrade; New Citizenship for Serbians! street action / Novo državljanstvo za Srbe! ulična akcija, State of Sabotage (AT)

15:00 – 17:00h

Društveni prostor za prezentacije / Social Project Space

Border 04, Florian Schneider (DE); BORDERLINE CASES, Stevan Vuković (SCG); eXstream, InterSpace Media Center, Galia Dimitrova (BG); Past Forward, mi2, Petar Milat (SCG)

20:30 - 22:30h

Filmski i video program Screenings

Shoes for Europe, Pavel Braila (MD); Do you know anything about Polish art?, Hubert Czerepok (PL) with M. Bakke (NL);

Wood Car, Joost Conijn (NL); Sofia, Milica Lapčević, Vladimir Šojat, Vamši, Nebojša Milenković (SCG); Film and video selection by NOMAD (TR)

30 APR/ 1 MAY

Lokacija / Location: **Petrovaradinska tvrđava, Dunav, Gradilište / Petrovaradin Fortress, Dunav, Gradilište**

00:00- 00:15h

Doček 'Nove Evrope': Trans_evropska zdravica / Marking Accession: Trans_Euro Toast

00:15- 01:00h

Kralj šume, Multimediajna pseudo opera / King of the Forest, Multimedia pseudo-opera, tekst/txt: Slobodan Tišma, režija/director: Andraš Urban (SCG)

01:00 – 03:00h

DJ/VJ performansi / DJ/VJ performances

Sensor diet - Inf.act (GE); Transistan - Anabala (TR); Belgradeyard Sound System (SCG); EUROTRANCE party, Monoton (AT)

1 MAJ / 1 MAY 04

Lokacija / Location: **Sremski Karlovci**

12:00h

Praktikovanje mobilnosti: Poseta Kapeli Mira / Mobility in Practice: Visit to Chapel of Peace

14:00 – 16:30h

Lokacija / Location: **Vorovo, Fruška Gora**

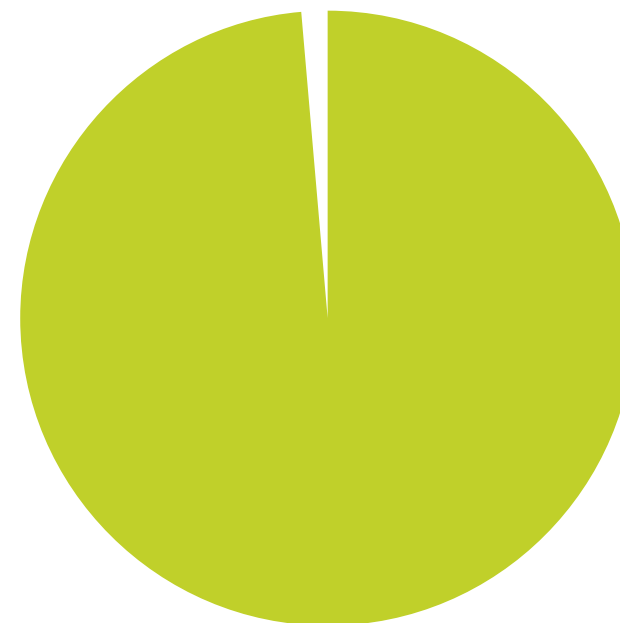
Debata 04: **Paralelne mobilnosti / Parallell Mobilities**

Uvodničari / Speakers: **Basak Senova** (TR), **Milos Vojtechovsky** (CZ), **Marion von Osten** (DE)

Moderator: **Vuk Čosić** (SI)

16:30

Prvomajski piknik / Trans_Euro BBQ



Simbolički toponimi Trans_evropskog foruma / Symbolical Toponims of Trans_European Picnic



Petrovaradinska tvrđava, Novi Sad

Petrovaradinska tvrđava je svojevremeno podignuta na granici Austro-ugarske monarhije i Turske imperije. Sa jedne strane, Petrovaradinska tvrđava se može shvatiti kao branilac evropskih vrednosti kao Evrope različitosti, dok sa druge strane predstavlja utvrdu sa osnovnom ulogom da odbrani od Drugog. Petrovaradinska tvrđava je mizanscen, granična oblast, zamišljena granica okrenuta ka IZVAN, dok je u isto vreme upravljena ka UNUTRA. Ona je simbol 'Tvrđave Evrope'.

Petrovaradin Fortress, Novi Sad

The Petrovaradin Fortress was originally built on the border between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Today, the Fortress could be viewed as a symbolic defender of European values: a Europe of difference on one hand, and a stronghold defending and protecting Europe from its Other, on the other hand. Hence, the Petrovaradin Fortress is a mise-en-scene, a borderline, an imaginary frontier: a symbol of 'Fortress Europe'.

Kapela mira, Sremski Karlovci

U Kapeli mira u Sremskim Karlovcima je potpisan Karlovački Mir 1699. godine između Otomanske Imperije sa jedne, i Austrije, Venecije i Rusije sa druge strane. Od tada zvanično termin 'Okrugli Sto' ulazi u upotrebu u diplomatskom smislu, da bi predstavio jednakost sukobljenih strana. Pojam 'Okruglog Stola', otvoreni dijalog, pregovor i kompromis čine kontrapunkt pojmu Tvrđave (Petrovaradinske tvrđave).

Chapel of Peace, Sremski Karlovci

The Chapel of Peace in Sremski Karlovci is the site of the 'Karlovac Peace', signed in 1699 between the Ottoman Empire, Austria, Venice and Russia. It was the first time in history of diplomacy that Round Table was used to represent equality of the confronted parties. The notion of Round Table, an open dialogue, negotiation and compromise stands in stark opposition to the Fortress (Petrovaradin Fortress).



kuda.profil

Centar za nove medije - kuda.org je neprofitna organizacija koja okuplja umetnike, naučnike, teoretičare, medijske aktiviste, istraživače i mlade. kuda.org se bavi kulturom novih medija i tehnologija, istraživanjem novih kulturnih odnosa, savremene umetničke prakse i društvenog bića.

Rad centra za nove medije se pojavljuje u određenom društveno političkom kontekstu Srbije, koja je još uvek u potrazi sa svojim identitetom i ontološkom svrhom. Kuda.org se suprotstavlja svakom obliku društvene diskriminacije i ugrožavanja lične ili kolektivne slobode, podržava otvorenost, komunikaciju i dijalog, s fokusom na slobodu izražavanja u elektronskim medijima i u sferi informacijskih i komunikacijskih tehnologija. Prethodnih godina, medijska manipulacija je odigrala prvorazrednu ulogu u rasplamsavanju sukoba na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, što je pokazalo svu ranjivost društva u tranzitornom vremenu.

Razvojem informacijskih i komunikacijskih tehnologija, implicitno se povećala i mogućnost pristupa informacijama, a samim tim i učestvovanje u demokratskim procesima, i stoga je neophodno da s jedne strane imamo široki front za medijsko opismenjavanje na lokalnom nivou i da sa druge strane razvijamo kritičku poziciju u odnosu na globalni trend razvoja novih tehnologija. Svesni smo niskog procenta korisnika kompjutera, Interneta i digitalnih medija u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori. Neka od poslednjih istraživanja pokazuju da je broj aktivnih korisnika Interneta još uvek nizak i iznosi svega 8% ukupne populacije. Neophodno je u isto vreme promovisati kako javnu sferu kao mesto društvene interakcije, tako i zaštitu privatnosti pojedinaca. U tom smislu kuda.org sa svojim projektima aktivno učestvuje u lokalnom i globalnom društvenom životu. Aktivni je član nekoliko domaćih i internacionalnih mreža uključujući NOS – Novosadski Omladinski Savet i a.network, mrežu medijskih centara u Jugoistočnoj Evropi.

Programi:

kuda.info / infocentar

pruža informacije iz oblasti kulture novih medija, savremene umetnosti i društvenih fenomena; pruža mogućnost istraživanja i edukaciju preko biblioteke, medijateke i arhive; obaveštava o kulturnim dešavanjima, seminarima i konkursima u zemlji i inostranstvu. U prostorijama kuda.org je za sve zainteresovane korisnike omogućen besplatni Internet (kao besplatno pivo).

kuda.lounge / prezentacije i predavanja

sastoji se od predavanja, radionica, razgovora, javnih prezentacija umetnika, medijskih aktivista, teoretičara, naučnika i istraživača; kuda.lounge je mesto aktivnog participativnog dijaloga, a od 2000 godine realizovano je više od 100 događaja različitog karaktera. Centar je prilagođen za sve vrste elektronske komunikacije, opremljen za javne nastupe i radionice (snimanje programa, arhiviranje na CD ROM I DVD, prebacivanje materijala na Internet).

kuda.production / produkcija i izdavaštvo

obezbeđuje uslove za neprofitno umetničko stvaralaštvo na polju novih medija i tehnologija; kuda.org kao producent, koproducent pruža uslove za interdisciplinarna istraživanja i eksperiment. 2003. u saradnji sa Institutom za nove kulturne tehnologije Public Netbase t0 iz Beča i Muzejom Savremene Umetnosti iz Beograda, kuda.org je organizovao izložbu Svet Informacija (World-Information.Org). Od 2004. kuda.org nudi besplatni web-hosting na svom serveru za potrebe umetnika, aktivista i neprofitnog sektora.



kuda.profile

New Media Center kuda.org is a non-profit organization bringing together artists, scientists, theorists, media activists, researchers and youngsters. Kuda.org focuses on new media culture, technologies, new cultural relations, contemporary artistic practice and the social realm.

The work of the New Media Center is situated within the specific socio – political context of Serbia, which is searching for its own identity. Kuda.org resists all kind of social discrimination and threats to individual or collective freedom. It fosters openness, communication and dialog, with an emphasis on freedom of expression in electronic media, and in the sphere of Information and Communication Technologies. In recent years media manipulation played a crucial role in the instigation of the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

The development and spread of Information and Communication technologies increase access to information, and therefore the possibility of participating in democratising processes. On the one hand there is a necessity to create a wider front for media education on a local level, and on the other hand a critical position must be articulated towards global trends in the development of new technologies. We are aware of the low percentage of digital media, computer and Internet users in Serbia and Montenegro. Some of the recent studies show 8% of the population as being active Internet users. In addition, it is necessary to present the public sphere as a space of social interaction, and insist on individual privacy protection. Kuda.org actively participates in local and global social life. It is an active member of several national and international networks including Novi Sad Youth Council, and a.network – a network of media centers in South Eastern Europe.

Programs:

Kuda.info / infocentar

Provides information in the field of new media, contemporary art, social phenomena, research and education by means of a library, mediathèque and digital archive. In addition information is disseminated about cultural events, seminars, call for proposals (inter/nationally). For all visitors of kuda.org Internet is free as a free beer.

Kuda.lounge / presentation and lectures

Consists of lectures, workshops, talks, public presentations of artists, media activists, theorists, scientists and researchers. kuda.lounge is a place of active participatory dialog. From 2000 onwards over 100 events have been organised. The center boasts its own venue for public events and workshops (real time recording of programs, digital archiving and Internet uploading).

Kuda.production / produkcija i izdavaštvo

Creates a matrix for non-profit artistic production in the field of new media and technologies, interdisciplinary research and experiment. In 2003 collaborations have been with a.o. Institute of New Cultural Technologies Public Netbase – Vienna, and with the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade. kuda.org has organized the Serbian edition of the exhibition World-Information.Org. From 2004 onwards kuda.org offers free web space on the kuda server for artists, activists and the NGO sector.

Autori, producenti i organizatori Trans evropskog foruma / Authors, Producers and Organizers of The Trans_European Picnic

Trans evropski forum: Umetnost i mediji u tranziciji je inicijativa kuda.org Centra za nove medije, Novi Sad (SCG) i V2_Instituta za nestabilne medije, Rotterdam (NL) / **The Trans_European Picnic: The Art and Media of Accession** is an initiative by New Media Center kuda.org, Novi Sad (SCG) and V2_Institute for the Unstable Media, Rotterdam (NL)

Centar za nove medije_ kuda.org, Novi Sad, www.kuda.org

kuda.org je organizacija koja se bavi kulturom novih medija i tehnologija, istražujući kritičke pristupe u odnosu na Internet i savremena sredstva komunikacije. Uspostavlja nove modele saradnje u okviru savremene umetničke prakse i povezuje umetnike, medijske aktiviste, teoretičare i ICT istraživače. Centar se bavi edukacijom, produkcijom i organizacijom kulturnih dešavanja.

New Media Center_ kuda.org, Novi Sad (SCG), www.kuda.org

kuda.org is a non-profit organization of artists, theorists and media activists propagating a critical attitude towards Internet culture through research, presentations and cultural production in the field of Information and Communication Technologies.

V2_Institute for the Unstable Media, Rotterdam, www.v2.nl

V2_ je centar koji se bavi digitalnom umetnošću i medijskim tehnologijama. Centar je aktivno angažovan u kreiranju interaktivnih odnosa između različitih oblika interpretacije digitalnih medija u umetničkim, kulturnim i naučnim disciplinama.

V2_Institute for the Unstable Media, Rotterdam (NL), www.v2.nl

V2_ is a center for electronic art and media technology actively engaged in creating and supporting the relationships and interactions between different forms of electronic based media in artistic, cultural and scientific disciplines.

Organizatori Trans evropskog foruma u Novom Sadu / Organizers of the Trans_European Picnic in Novi Sad

Centar za nove medije_ kuda.org, www.kuda.org

Građanski pakt za jugoistočnu Evropu / Citizens Pact for South Eastern Europe, www.citizenspact.org.yu

U saradnji sa **Kulturnim centrom Novog Sada** / In cooperation with **Cultural Center Novi Sad**, www.kcns.org.yu

Picnic Crew

Koncept / Concept: **Branka Ćurčić, Jelena Klašnja, Stephen Kovats, Kristian Lukić, Nat Muller, Zoran Pantelić, Orfeas Skutelis**

Koordinacija i produkcija / Trans_European Coordination and Production: **Branka Ćurčić, Jelena Klašnja, Stephen Kovats, Kristian Lukić, Nat Muller, Zoran Pantelić, Orfeas Skutelis**

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Funding: **Zoran Pantelić, Kristian Lukić, Nat Muller, Stephen Kovats**

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Tehnička podrška na terenu / Technical Assistance on Location: **Kulturni Centar Novog Sada, EXIT**

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Priprema za štampu / Layout: **Predrag Nikolić**

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Prevod / Translations: **Bojana Petrić, Orfeas Skutelis, David Williams, Nikolina Knežević**

Dokumentacija / Documentation: **Jovan Milinov, Kino Klub Novi Sad**

Posebna se zahvaljujemo / Special thanks to: **Edvard Begović**



Zahvaljujemo / Thanks to:

Sarita Matijević, Alex Adriaansens, Marinela Skutelis, Vanjus, Stipan Petreš, Veljko Damjanović, Regina Ruz, Geza Daniel, Aleksandar Paroški, Phototoma, Zoran Novaković, Petar Pantelić, Milan Bajić, Jaroslav Vlček i svim učesnicima Trans_evropskog foruma / and to all Picnic's participants

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Producers**



**Organizers /
Organizers**



**General Support /
General Support**



**Support /
Support**



**Media Support /
Media Support**



**Support in realization of multimedia pseudo-opera /
Support in realization of multimedia pseudo-opera**

EXIT
Okov, Novi Sad
Nova metalurgija, Novi sad
Srpsko Narodno Pozorište, Novi Sad
Neoplanta AD, Novi Sad
JP Gradsko zelenilo, Novi Sad









CIP - Katalogizacija u publikaciji
Biblioteka Matice Srpske, Novi Sad

7.01:316.774(082)

TRANS evropski forum Umetnost i mediji u tranziciji (2004; Novi Sad)

Trans evropski forum: Umetnost i mediji u tranziciji, 29 apr., 30 apr., 1 maj 2004, Novi Sad, Srbija i Crna Gora = The Trans European Picnic: The ART and Media of Accession, 29 apr., 30 apr., 1 maj 2004, Novi Sad, Serbia and Montenegro / [urednici Nat Muller, Stephen Kovach ; prevod na srpski Bojana Petrić, Orfeas Skutelis, Nikolina Knežević, prevod na engleski David Williams]. - Novi Sad : Futura publikacije, 2004 (Novi Sad : Daniel Print). - 118 str. : ilustr. ; 25 cm. - (Edicija Kuda.read)

Tekst uporedo i na srp. i na engl. jeziku. - Tiraž 2.000.

ISBN 86-7188-019-2

a) Umetnost - Mediji - Zbornici

COBISS.SR-ID 194202631

